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SHOWDOWN OVER
THE MASHAT AFFAIR

MEANER AND LEANER

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On Their
Budget

Sgt. Maj. David Mack,
Special Service Force





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CANADA'S WEEKLY NEWSMAGAZINE JUNE 17 1991 VOL 104 NO 24

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COVER

MEANER AND LEANER

Despite renewed public support because of their role in the Gulf and last year at Okla. Gov., Canada's armed forces are heading for dramatic cuts. Sources suggest that the military will lose 15,000 troops and that several of the country's 33 bases will close. In what may prove the most dramatic departure from post-war policy, Canadian forces may be removed entirely from Europe.

— 30

CANADA

TRADING BLAME

Angry words marked the first week of an inquiry into former Iraqi diplomat Michael al-Muhamar's arrival in Canada. Questions revolved about how much senior cabinet ministers, including External Affairs Minister Barbara McDougall, knew about the affair—and when they knew it.

— 14



FILMS

STRAIGHT ARROW

After riding to Oscar glory in Dances with Wolves, Kevin Costner has returned as Robin Hood: Prince of Thieves. Perhaps the most hotly anticipated movie of the season, it opens next week. But it remains to be seen if Costner can uple the error of his phenomenal success with Dances.

— 36

LETTERS

THE POLITICS OF POST OFFICES

Stewart MacLeod is wrong to equate "leftist prurience" with "service" as it relates to postal issues ("Ottawa's unexplored outlook," *Ottawa*, May 27). Although the so-called leftist prurience has been implicated in some controversies—rural and urban—with postal services delivered by the private sector, surveys show that the people directly affected by the change like it. Finally, a financially sound Canada Post is much better equipped than one that is hemorrhaging with a \$100-million deficit.

The Hon. Martin Andrieu
Government House Leader,
Ottawa



Andrieu defending private-sector service

Stewart MacLeod passes the test for geography and accuracy when I have myself observed. He is right: "The bloody government doesn't know what the hell it's doing."

Fred Macle,
Calgary & C.

THE NEW FACE OF ACTIVISM

Your report on political correctness highlighted the additional intolerance and working self-righteousness that characterizes these modern legends ("The silencers," *Comment*, May 27). A narrow focus on issues of race and gender ignores the wider questions of poverty and class, which affect both genders in all areas. While radicals in the 1960s sought sweeping change, the politically correct seek the advancement of one group, usually their own, at the expense of others.

Martin Loe,
Montreal, Que.

I found your stories on political correctness to be more appropriate to its *Nyx Road* novel than Macleod's *caustic*. Since we were "good berks, clean air, pure water, the humane treatment of animals, minority rights and women's and homosexual rights" special areas and I would think that the majority of all people, not just the so-called special-interest groups, would benefit from all of the above.

Kerwin Vaughan,
Ottawa

I would like to register my surprise and disappointment at your treatment of my article for your political correctness survey. I was asked for my opinion of the feminist impact on careers and on society in general. Political correctness was not mentioned, nor was my opinion as it is asked for. For these reasons, I was surprised to see that Macleod's had given its own credit to imply that I was credited as a professor of the "barons of political correctness" and to accuse me as an adversary to Prof.

IMPRISONED VICTIMS

The scarred wreckage of Marlene Moore's once-glamorous life tells a harrowing story—one that we ignore at our peril ("Dead behind bars," *Justice*, May 20). The message of her death is clear: sexual abuse kills. It is a slow poison that seeps out in shame and agonizing ways—self-mutilation, anti-social behavior, suicidal despair. Moore who has endured the hell of child abuse already believes that they are worthless. Is putting their lives in danger supposed to help?

Margaret Gunning,
Port Capetown, B.C.

I am outraged and heart sick at the lack of proper rehabilitation offered Marlene Moore. Children and adults who mutilate themselves are in dire need of expert psychiatric care, along with compassion, love and understanding. Marlene never had a choice. It is hard to believe that this episode, along with others like it, could happen in our country in the 20th century.

Evelyn Brindley,
Vancouver, B.C.

Letters are edited and may be abridged. Writers should supply an e-mail address whenever they correspond. Letters to the Editor should be signed. Marlene Moore, May 27, Page B1, *Toronto Star*, April 14, 1997.

PASSAGES

SUSPENSE: From peering audacious in Ottawa for 12 months, Dr. George (Darius) Ataphos, an accused master of misadventure to drug addicts to athletes between 1983 and 1994, by the College of Physicians and Surgeons of Ontario. He was also fined \$6,000. Ataphos, 45, Rex Johnson's former physician, said that he would accept the suspension, which was longer than his own lawyer and the college's lawyer had recommended. In his defense, Ataphos said that he administered steroids to ensure that athletes did not hurt themselves through unapproved use of the drugs. Ataphos says that the college looked down the unapproved by harsh sentence in order to send an anti-drug message.



APPROPRIATE: As the eighth chancellor of Toronto's York University, a primarily ceremonial position at Canada's third-largest university, just passed, Oliver Peterson, 65, Peterson, a six-time Grammy Award winner who has recorded and taught legends in Ella Fitzgerald and Louis Armstrong, has been a professor of music at York since 1985 and received an honorary doctorate there in 1992. He will be formally installed in the fall.

Hired: By the board of directors of the long-troubled Toronto Maple Leafs, Cliff Fletcher, 56, to the position of president, general manager and chief operating officer. Fletcher is a widely respected longtime hockey administrator who, as the general manager of the Calgary Flames, is credited with making that team a leading NHL club.

and the 1988 Stanley Cup winner. In his much-hesitated new position as the man who will represent the Leafs, the largest second-tier place team this year, Fletcher has a five-year, \$4-million contract.

DIED: Jazz tenor saxophone soloist Dick Getz, 64, of cancer at his home in Malibu, Calif. Getz, an 11-time Grammy winner, was a major force in the development of the so-called "cool school" of jazz with a series of quartets and quintets in the late 1940s and early 1950s.

DIED: CBC Radio and television veteran Alan Miller, 62, of cancer, at a Toronto hospital. He was best known as a sympathetic interviewee while a host of the CBC Radio show *Ottawa Morning* from 1980 to 1986, and *Frank Air*, from 1988 to 1995.

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ANOTHER VIEW



A prescription for the hand-wringers

BY CHARLES GORDON

In a couple of weeks it all begins again. Notional unity. The words we heard will be back on page 1. The debate will rage full scale. There will be anger and tears, screams of impending doom and all that. And there will be no avoiding it, unless we leave town.

We all know that part of being a Canadian is listening to people argue about what it is to be a Canadian. But this is ridiculous. Ever since the collapse of the Meech Lake accord a year ago, the unity industry has been taking night-life. The work was busy at first, with every day pronouncement making headlines, every glossy forecast, leading the national news. Later, as we got used to the debate, it dropped off the front page, returning briefly with the appointment of the Spicer commission and making return appearances from time to time.

Mostly, the notional-unity industry has become wary in the background: every once in a while producing a new committee, a federal cabinet minister expressing optimism, a Quebec cabinet minister expressing pessimism, a new opinion poll taken at great expense and so on, making what we all know all along—that the country can be saved if we wait to save it badly enough.

Canadians could, during the winter and spring, go on with their daily lives, too busy living and working in this country to fret about losing it, too busy enjoying Canada for apocalyptic thoughts about the end of it. But now the Spicer commission report looms. On July 1, it starts again.

Without prejudging what Keith Spicer says—without a doubt, it will be interesting—we can know what the sequence of events will be. Spicer will report, politicians will debate, media will comment. Various committees will find the report unsatisfactory, various deadlines will be mentioned in a self-reluctant self-deferring way, many heads will be wrung. A great glow will settle over the land and some people will

wonder, nightly, if Canada life would not be a lot better if people stopped clattering about it and just lived it.

The only way to avoid the summer of soul-searching—the second in a row, breaking the previous record—is to leave town. Better-off Canadians can do that by escaping to the cottage, leaving their TVs in the city, avoiding newspapers and turning on their radios only to listen to baseball games. But not all of us are so fortunate. What, for example, about Canada's young people, some whom the future depends? They have no cottages. How are they going to escape the debate and save their sanity?

Fortunately, as an old way, the summer of soul-searching is also the summer of vacations. There is a shortage of jobs. That gives young Canadians the perfect excuse to let the road, travel across the country with an eye in seeing it before (a) they have to settle down, or (b) it disappears.

You know what will happen. They will return with a greater interest in Canada, having seen things they never knew about. For the first time, they will see the ocean, the prairie, the mountains. They will have a greater appreciation of Canada's diversity, its scenery, its people. They will have horrible experiences in

some places, hate the food in others. On balance they will be glad they travelled, glad they live here. With any luck, some of those young travellers will be from Quebec, travelling outward, and others will be from the rest of Canada, travelling into Quebec.

Travel, they say, is broadening. It is also filtering and it is this, in a paradoxical way, narrowing. It does not make us provincial, but it does make us focus on our own country as a way we might not have before. Canadians who travel in other countries usually come back with a new appreciation for Canada, a place they might have underrated before. Many other countries have things we lack—a long history, to name the most important. But there are things we prize that are harder to find abroad and south of the border. Travel makes us realize that.

We have open spaces, outdoors that don't have package damped on them, streets that are not gridlocked, people who are not habitually rude and abrasive at their jobs. Except for parts of our major cities in peak hour, there is a feeling of unenclosedness that returning travellers find refreshing. It is something they didn't realize they missed and they want away.

There is also a certain Canadian attitude. It is hard to define, hard for Canadians to recognize that they have, until they go somewhere else and don't find it. In the United States, to which many Canadians are travelling, as you don't need to be reminded, certain things are different. Perhaps even the experience of cross-border shopping, a money spectacle of the post-9-11 era, will produce our landmark result. If Canadians look up from their shopping carts long enough, they will realize that they are in a different society, and that there is a price to be paid for living in a country in which golf shirts and pillowcases are cheap.

Canadians complain about being overtaxed and overregulated. They complain about the cost of the things they buy. They complain about the language on the transit bus or the parking ticket. They complain about the cliche and they complain about the cold. But if they get out and move around as they should in this summer of dizziness, they might see how cheap is worth keeping and how much is too precious to lose.

In travelling, they will miss some of the debate. That is not much of a loss. They have seen the debate before. They will hear it again. It will be around when they get back. The debate is about the Constitution if it is about power. Above all, it is about symbolism. It is about politicians being slighted, about intellectuals counting angles on the head of a pin. Travel, among things and meeting people, is about some of those things. It is about finding common interest and common ground, and a common interest in that common ground.

The last big patriotic binge this country had was in 1982—Centennial Year, and the year of Expo. It is an irony that the highways that summer were full of backhills, hills not to the country. Maybe, what with our clung and another, no one has been seeing the country lately. This will be a good summer to do it again.

Charles Gordon is a columnist with The Ottawa Citizen.

TRADING BLAME

In front of a standing-room-only crowd in the Railway Committee Room at the House of Commons, the latter probed attacks and charged confrontations largely overshadowed the subject under debate. After the Canadian government acknowledged last month that it had expedited the granting of Iraqi citizenship status to former opposition Iraqi diplomat Mubashir al-Mashat, many politicians from all parties, as well as some senior civil servants, said that the decision was a mistake. But last week, as a parliamentary inquiry continued looking into the process that led to that decision, it became clear that the politicians and bureaucrats involved agreed on very little else. And the tone of their disagreement frequently became raucous. In one fiery exchange, Liberal MP John Munro told Clerk of the Privy Council Paul Teller—the country's highest-ranking civil servant—that his role in the matter was a "disgrace." Flaming angrily, the normally calm Teller told Munro to "shut up." That threat, and several other hostile exchanges, raised even more troubling issues.

All parties to the controversy acknowledge that Mashat—who, as Iraq's ambassador to Washington at the end of the Gulf War, actively supported his country's annexation of Kuwait—entered Canada legally and the authorities cannot now force him to leave. But since his arrival because public last month, the debate has shifted from the propriety of his entry to how much senior cabinet ministers knew about the decision to accept his entry—and how they knew it. Several Tory ministers, including Fisheries Minister M. Donaghy, resignation minister at the time of Mashat's entry and now minister of external affairs, have publicly blamed the controversy on faulty decisions by civil servants.

Some senior bureaucrats and ministers say they are concerned that the Tories have opened the flood gate that traditionally separates partisan politics and the professionally neutral public service. Said history professor

POLITICIANS AND BUREAUCRATS CLASH AT AN INQUIRY INTO HOW IRAQ'S MASHAT GOT INTO CANADA

Michael Bliss of the University of Toronto: "Blaming civil servants for your missteps is the most cowardly form of politics." For his part, Gerald Bibeaux, an NDP member of the parliamentary committee examining the sequence of events, called the Conservative "disgrace."



McDonaghy: "a whole series of errors of judgment"

Michael Bliss of the University of Toronto: "Blaming civil servants for your missteps is the most cowardly form of politics." For his part, Gerald Bibeaux, an NDP member of the parliamentary committee examining the sequence of events, called the Conservative "disgrace."

staff for then-External Affairs Minister Joe Clark. The statement added that "Mr. Clark has apologized" for his mistake. At last week's inquiry, Donaghy, a former Tory MP, acknowledged that he had not told Clark about Mashat's application. But he also expressed his belief that he had been misled by the blame in order to provide "political symmetry" to the ministerial criticism of Clark, who is a nephew of Liberal Leader Jean Chrétien. He added outside the inquiry: "Because Mr. Clark had been misled as an official who had made an error in this matter, given his inexperience and his position to the leader of the Opposition, I think there was some sympathy."

But Clark's blanket rejection both the Tories' account of events—and any error of judgment on his own part. And another senior official, deputy clerk of the Privy Council Glen Shortliffe, supported Clark's assertion during separate testimony to the committee. Shortliffe said that following a meeting on May 13 attended by McDonaghy and Clark, he had presented Clark with a draft of the statement to be issued the following day, in which Clark's apology for his failure "to exert effective control over the sensitive case" would be noted. The last week, Clark told the inquiry that he had never agreed to the revision of events recorded in the statement. In particular, he said, he never apologized, because "I never said I had anything to apologize for."

Testifying before the inquiry late in the week, Clark, now minister of constitutional affairs, also acknowledged that, in fact, Clark had not apologized. But Clark insisted that he should have. "I wasn't told and I should have been told," Clark said, "and I think it would be better for everybody if he said, 'Yes, I made a mistake on this.'"

The inquiry found other discrepancies, as well, among the accounts offered by senior government figures about the sequence of events. One of the most puzzling was between statements made by Prime Minister Brian Mulroney last month in the Commons and others by Teller last week. In a statement in the Commons on May 15, Mulroney declared that Teller had "indicated his disagreement with the issuance of a visa to that individual [Mashat]."

But Mulroney added that "Mr. Teller, speaking for the Privy Council Office, said: 'We not admit him.'" But Teller told the inquiry last week that he never gave that statement. He added: "I surely did not say that the visa should not be issued. The Privy Council Office and he should not receive preferential treatment—he should not jump the queue."

For their part, opposition MPs clearly saw an opportunity to severely embarrass the Tories—at the expense, in some instances, of senior bureaucrats. Indeed, the opposition's



Teller (left) Raymond Charbon: hostile words and a refusal to apologize

questioning of witnesses before the investigation was exceptionally hostile. Yousif, a secretary, openly berated several witnesses. His exchange with Teller arose after Munro asserted that the civil servant was adding government ministers in an attempt to cover up the controversy over Mashat. At another point, Munro aggressively charged that former solicitor general Pierre Cadieux—who was the first minister to learn of Mashat's arrival—was deceived by his present position at Finance, North and Amateur Sport because he misinterpreted the affair. A shrewd Cadieux retorted that that constituted members ask Mulroney for his response.

Senior Tories, who acknowledge that the controversy is damaging the government, were plainly intent on limiting the scope for harm. In fact, the government's efforts to limit public awareness of the hearings drew criticism even from some Tories. Although the hearings attracted an unusually large number of onlookers—including Edward Goldenberg, Jean Chrétien's principal secretary, as well as most members of the Liberal's front bench—

and videotapes of the proceedings were broadcast on television, the Tory majority on the committee blocked a proposal to allow cameras to record the testimony. At that, Hamilton Tory MP Geoff Scott, a former broadcaster himself, shouted: "You can hear it, read it—you can't see it."

It was clear last week that relations were strained not only between the Tories and the civil servant, but also between the bureaucrats and the opposition. All the casualty exchanges that erupted repeatedly during the

National Notes

QUEBECER LIMBO

Quebec's Liberal government suspended debate on legislation that sets October, 1990, as the deadline for holding a referendum on Quebec sovereignty. The move came shortly after Parti Québécois Leader Jacques Parsonnais announced that his party would vote against the bill, claiming that the Liberals simply intended to use it as a bargaining chip to negotiate a new federal pact with the rest of Canada. Quebec Premier Robert Bourassa said that he would reintroduce the bill later.

FROM HEADS EAST

Refugee status denied: Protesters Manning announced that 90 per cent of the party's western-born members who voted in a mailed referendum had approved a proposal to run candidates in Ontario and the Atlantic provinces. Manning said that the party had also opposed to Quebec's stance as Quebec moves close its campaign to Confederation.

NO TO AN ASSEMBLY

Constitutional Affairs Minister Joe Clark said that Ottawa would not convene a constituent assembly to deal with Canada's constitutional woes if Quebec persisted in its refusal to take part—a position reiterated last week by Quebec Premier Robert Bourassa during a meeting with Clark. Earlier, a poll by the Angus Reid Group reported that about two-thirds of Canadians—including a majority of Quebecers—supported the idea of convening an assembly.

SHOOTOUT IN MARYLAND

After being wounded in a shootout with two female Maryland state troopers, one of two Canadian officers was killed in the May 30 shooting of Toronto police Const. Larry Deas surrounded. State police charged Donald Nelson with attempted murder and other offences. He also faces charges in Toronto of being an accessory to attempted murder. Last week's end, Maryland police were seeking Nelson's companion, believed to be Eric Schneider, who faces an attempted murder charge in Toronto.

HEALTH CARE WARNINGS

A study released by the National Council of Welfare said that Ottawa's cap on federal transfer payments to the provinces may lead to the end of the Canadian medicare system. That warning was also issued by Lucien Lamont, president of the Canadian Medical Association, who said that the funding freeze threatened the capacity of poorer provinces to maintain acceptable standards of health care.

ANTHONY WILSON-SMITH
and BRUCE WALLACE in Ottawa

Mad as hell over taxes

Rebellious taxpayers begin to bite back

I was a public relations guy that backed in April, 1990, desperate to extol the virtues of its impending Goods and Services Tax, the federal government released a list of 50 products that, it claimed, would distort benefits that it said to Canadians. According to Ottawa, July 42 of those products would cost no more (GST included) as a result of the introduction of the new tax on Jan. 1, 1991—and some would cost less. Canadian watchdogs resolved to put that claim to the test. Before the controversial consumption tax came into effect, volunteers from six provincial branches of the Consumers Association of Canada, first in October and then again in December, posted special boards of prices ranging from batteries and ball towels to grapes and skates. They repeated the exercise in February and April—and then compared prices before and after the tax. Only 18 products cost less. Twenty-nine items had increased in price—some by as much as 11 per cent. Said Jennifer Hillier, president of the Manitoba branch of the Consumers Association and organizer of the survey, is that promise: "No one who shops in Canada is surprised at the result."

The shoppers may not be surprised—but they are exhibiting signs of a growing anger over the country's increasing tax burden. Indeed, there are signs of a brewing tax revolt across all levels of government. In Toronto, where property taxes for many homeowners have jumped by 40 per cent since 1983, a noisy crowd of 800 demonstrators last week vociferously disapproved of a plan to increase municipal taxes further. In the same province, a group called the Taxpayers' Coalition of Ontario claims to have organized chapters in more than 80 communities to fight local tax increases. In British Columbia, the B.C. Civil Liberties Association says that it may challenge a provincial utility that the province would provide information from Canada Customs about which provincial residents pay federal duty on goods purchased in the United States. The province would then be able to use that people for the so-called provincial sales tax. And in Ottawa, the Conservative government has twice called for a recent spate of reports detailing how such Canadian taxes have increased since the Tories' last electoral victory in 1984.

Last month, Revenue Canada released num-

bers showing that Ottawa's total annual receipts from personal income taxes have risen by 66 per cent since 1984, to a total of \$23.5 billion—while the take from corporate taxes has dropped by 34 per cent. And a report last week by Global Business 101, an Ottawa-based company specializing in tax issues, revealed that the personal income tax increase is unevenly shared. André Patrick Grady, a former associate with the federal finance depart-



Shoppers return from Niagara Falls, N.Y. shopping spree

ment, calculated that 85 per cent of Canadian families will pay more in federal taxes this year compared with 1984—as much as \$1,500 more for a family with an annual income of \$47,337. And Grady noted in his report that most of the burden of tax increases attributed by the Tories has been borne by the middle class. "The equity of the tax system has deteriorated under the Tories," wrote Grady. For their part, the Tories have reacted with muted anger to the growing anger of Canadians. After a speech to the Whistler Chapter of Commerce on May 30, Revenue Minister Otto Jelinek acknowledged that Ottawa has

"moved too far in the taxation area" and may in fact consider reducing the tax bite. But in the same week, the minister struck a deal with Saskatchewan—and came close to cancelling another with Quebec—under which Canada Customs officials would collect not only federal duty and taxes, but also provincial sales tax on goods imported by Canadians returning from shopping trips to the United States. As well, early last week Finance Minister Donald Macdonald curtly dismissed Jelinek's statement that Ottawa may reduce taxes, ruling out any cuts until the country's projected budget deficit—a projected \$30 billion this fiscal year—is brought under control.

Still, there is mounting pressure within the Tories for a more conciliatory approach to the tax protesters. Geoffrey Scott, for one, a Tory backbencher from Hamilton, broke custom rules last week by publicly stating his support for independent Canadian truck drivers, whose protests caused traffic in Ottawa and Toronto last month. Among the truckers' main grievances: high Canadian taxes that, they say, make it impossible for them to compete with their lower-taxed U.S. counterparts. Scott said that on June 17, he will present the Tory government with a national petition demanding that farm-to-grocery products be exempt from the GST on the ground that farmers and sanitary supplies are differentiated precursors for taxes.

The petition's organizers, the Sigma-based group Tobacco Tax Canada, say they have collected over 50,000 names since the petition was first circulated in January. Said Jacques Lesieur, who headed the petition: "If Ottawa can exempt clip clip, chocolate milk and chocolate pens from the tax, the least they can do is give women a break." Added Scott: "The government is obsessed with trying to raise money. In the process we are absolutely losing the wrong things with the GST."

Still, some analysts say that while Canadian taxes may be high, cutting them would also carry a steep price. Said David Perry, a senior researcher at the Canadian Tax Foundation: "Governments don't have a lot of leeway. If you want to stage a tax revolt, you have to look at what kind of benefits, particularly social programs, will be cut as a result." That is a real concern for those Canadians who already find that they are paying too much in government—and getting less for their money.

By KATE FULTON in Ottawa

The court's green light

Saskatchewan faces an uneven election race

For Saskatchewan Premier Greg Doiron's beleaguered Conservative government, the decision was a mixed blessing. The Supreme Court of Canada ruled last week that electoral boundaries adopted by the Devine government in 1989 did not—uncontested as a citizens' challenge—violate the Charter of Rights and Freedoms by forcing rural voters over urban ones. That decision cleared the way for Devine to hold the provincial election that is due this fall. But for the Tories, any relief over the ruling was clearly tempered by results of an Angus Reid poll released one day earlier. It indicated that the Tories had the support of just 39 per cent of divided voters—64 percentage points behind the provincial seat and only four points ahead of the Liberals, who held no seats in the legislature.

Even worse for Devine, the poll indicated that Tory popularity extends to rural areas, which have been critical to his past election wins. It was to protect that rural base, critics say, that the government passed legislation requiring a 1986 electoral boundaries commission to place the majority of legislative seats in rural areas—even though more voters live in urban centres. In response, a coalition of private citizens claimed that those new boundaries discriminated against urban voters. And in March, the Saskatchewan Court of Appeal asked the government to explain to the 10th-century court, while establishing a new electoral boundaries commission that last month proposed a more equitable distribution of seats.

In the Supreme Court's 4-to-3 judgment—one that leans on electoral fairness issues throughout Canada—the majority ruled that such factors as geography, community history or the need to provide representation for minority groups may justify deviating from the principle that every citizen's vote should carry equal weight. The ruling demystified Saskatchewan law professor Ronald Gearing, one of the original authors of the last Reid Commission. "Our democratic institutions may be threatened by desperate governments trying to hang on to power any way they can," he told the court. Saskatchewan Justice Minister Gary Lunn said that the government may yet adopt the new electoral map proposed last month because the existing boundaries have been "biased." But as the polls show, Saskatchewan's Tories face an uphill fight where one battlefield is closed.

BRIAN HERGMAN with DALE EIDLER in Regina



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MEANER AND LEANER

CANADIAN FORCES
LOOK FOR MORE
BANG FOR FEWER
BUCKS IN COST-
CONSCIOUS TIMES

On a rainy morning last week, dozens of visiting schoolchildren clambered over the tanks and armoured vehicles displayed in the sunny courtyard of Ottawa's Canadian War Museum—the national repository of military artifacts from past wars—dabbling from one wooden relic to another, chattering happily. An 85-year-old Korean War veteran, Alexander Serdichuk, a Ukrainian security guard, shooed a cluster of children through a second-floor ball of military paraphernalia, he reflected on the question, "What's the attraction?" His answer: "These kids know they are not only looking at their country's past, they could be looking at the future, too." Indeed, it was hardly an exaggeration that the museum recorded a 33-per-cent rise in attendance during the Cold War—er, that its patrons have taken a renewed interest in the military. Still, 13-year-old Hussein Sororan, a visitor from Montreal's Westmount Park School: "We used an army to

protect ourselves. Look at what just happened in Iraq. You never know."

Many Canadians plainly share the youngster's point of view. But their renewed interest in Canada's armed forces, heightened by last summer's armed confrontation at Okta as well as the fighting in the Persian Gulf, is taking place as defence department planners and federal politicians put the finishing touches to the most sweeping shakedown of the nation's military since the three traditional branches of the armed forces—army, navy and air force—were unified 23 years ago. With financial restraint at home and a chattering world order abroad, Defence Minister Marcel Masse has promised to present a major review of the size, shape and mission of the military early this summer. He has been secretive about its details, but the main thrust is already plain: to slash defence costs—currently running at \$12.8 billion a year—in order to help reduce the nation's \$30-billion deficit. Those cuts have already begun. Last month, the department of national defence (DND) announced that it would lay off 1,000 military and civilian headquarters employees during the current fiscal year and cancelled \$700 million worth of orders for new vehicles, weapons and ammunition.

Strategic: Masse's new policy, which is now awaiting full cabinet approval, is likely to recommend additional cuts that will be far more extensive. According to sources both within and outside the military, Masse is likely to propose slashing 15,000 troops from the nation's 87,000 regular armed forces personnel and to argue that several of the country's 33 military bases, many of them crucial to local economies, be closed. It is in what may prove the most dramatic departure from long-view-

ing policy, Masse may also call for the removal or drastic reduction of Canadian forces in Europe, where Canada has maintained army and air force contingents under North Atlantic Treaty Organization command for the past 40 years. For their part, senior military commanders have made it plain that they want to see a leaner, but better-equipped and more flexible, fighting force emerging from the reform. According to Masse, militia and reserve forces will play a greater part in that streamlining of the military. What appears certain is that a Canadian military establishment: that has survived, often at heroic cost, in wars, in five foreign wars so far in this century, will be radically altered. Still, some defence minister, likely Colton, speaking last month to reporters about the changes that are under way. "Everything is on the table."

But it is equally clear that major changes in the nation's defence establishment could upend a political fortress in Canada—and even shake some of Canada's allies abroad. Indeed, speculation begins to fly in April, when the vice-chair of defence staff, Vice-Admiral Charles Thomas, resigned to protest the looming policy changes. In the letter of resignation that he wrote to Gen. John de Courville, chief of defence staff, Thomas accused defence planners of preparing a long-range strategy that would leave Canadian troops dangerously under-equipped. Declared Thomas: "I will not support proposals that will lead our soldiers and marines to people into danger without



Troops on manoeuvres in Ontario: a continuing need in a high-risk world

the tools to do the jobs that will be asked of them."

Opposition MPs deplored the fact that the nation's defence is being fundamentally restructuring without public consultation. For his part, war defence critic John Barrie criticized

the cabinet for determining national security policy behind closed doors. Sen. Brown "I am deeply offended by the manner in which policy is being made. Clearly, we're going to be presented with a fait accompli." And Liberal defence critic William Rempel said that "the

government is shoving the department of defence to dictate defence policies."

Meanwhile, municipal politicians in communities where military bases are located express different concerns. Mayor John Sisson of Dartmouth, N.S., home to a Seaforce submarine base, says that any base closure, says Sisson, that has would depress the local economy of a \$75-million annual payroll for military and civilian employees and "have a colossal impact on our community."

Last: Many military experts outside government are also highly concerned over the proposed cuts. Alan Morrison, executive director of the Toronto-based Canadian Institute of Strategic Studies, for one, said that he is "pessimistic about the future." Still, Morrison, a former career army officer: "After the Gulf, everyone and the government would be obliged to spend more on our forces. But I always said that was just a blip on the overall plan, and I fear I am being proven right." One former chief of defence staff, General Thériault, speaking at a seminar on defence in Ottawa last month, charged that politics had overshadowed security considerations. "We are a significant middle power," Thériault said. "We have a responsibility to contribute in a meaningful way." But he added: "The harder our defence has not been strategic or technical, but political. Our country has lost her way."

Such apprehension and uncertainty over the country's defence stand in stark contrast to Canada's long list of military honours. Canada sent a million soldiers to two major wars in this century and lost over 100,000 of them in battle. Others served—and died—as Kanak. Canadians also took part in the 1899-1902 war in South Africa and 40 years later, in the Persian Gulf War. Their history is marked by many bloody milestones: among them, the battles at Vimy, the Somme and Vimy Ridge in the First World War, as well as those of the Atlantic, Diego and Sicily, and the liberation of

CANADA'S ARMED FORCES

Personnel peaked in the Second World War with a 1944 average of 187,000



HOW CANADA STACKS UP

Military spending as a percentage of gross domestic product, selected countries, 1988



the Low Countries in the Second World War, Canada has also participated in 22 UN peacekeeping missions in world trouble spots.

Nevertheless that record, Canada's military has often lagged behind other governments' efforts. In 1993, the Liberal government of Prime Minister Jean Chrétien reduced the strength of the armed forces to about \$2,000 from \$6,000, cut forces in Europe by half and sold the military's only aircraft carrier, HMCS *Bonaventure*. The portion of the federal budget spent on defense was reduced to 12 per cent from 15 per cent—it has since slipped to eight per cent. And although in the 1970s the Liberal government authorized the purchase of Canada's fleet of CF-18 fighter jets and launched a new frigate-building program, it allowed the part of the defense budget dedicated to the purchase of new equipment—typically 50 per cent among NATO countries—to slip well below 20 per cent.

Such cuts have taken their toll. Over the past 15 years, Canada has spent only about two per cent of its gross domestic product on defense—a rate ahead of only Luxembourg among NATO nations.

Mark: In 1987, Prime Minister Brian Mulroney's government appeared ready to bolster a defense department that seemed to be at risk. Three Ministers of National Defence Pierre Bérty presented a policy paper on defense that analyzed Canada's military needs in a Cold War theme. "It is a fact," the document stated, "that the West is faced with an ecological, political and economic adversary whose explicit long-term aim is to invade the world in its own image." With that assessment, Bérty proposed to equip the Forces with an array of new equipment—including aircraft-carrier-sized submarines capable of patrolling Arctic waters. That plan fell victim to federal spending restraint, however, and two years later the fall of the Berlin Wall signalled the end of the Cold War. Since then, the government has been engaged in attempts to define a new policy to financially different needs.

The new environment facing planners also dented the withdrawal of 2,400 personnel from Canadian bases in Europe to take place this summer. For his part, Thomas lashed those nervous to "dismantle the ice cube." Said Thomas: "The problem is that it results in a shambles—and shambles don't fight very well." Still, there are emerging reasons for change of course laid in defense policy. One constraint is the sheer size of the mechanized army, which employs 60,000 soldiers in addition to 87,000 military personnel. In the 1989-1990 fiscal year, all salaries and other overhead costs consumed \$6.6 billion of an \$11.6-

billion budget. "That," said Thomas, "is a hell of a lot of overhead. I don't know of any business that can get away with that." Military equipment top-heavy as well: The Canadian army has more officers than privates—and more sergeants and non-commissioned officers than combat ships (21). Many military bases—in a network that extends from Vancouver Island to Lake and Baden-Nollingen in Germany—were established to meet needs long since overtaken by history.

Benjamin: For his part, de Chastelain insisted: "The Forces, even if somewhat larger under the new policy, would remain sufficiently more. Said de Chastelain: "I foresee the armed forces still being designed, equipped, structured, trained and trained to fight." He added: "My conviction is that as long as you wish to be able to play a role in the world amongst other nations that wish to solve problems, the armed forces should be able to fight." That role, the general said, would continue to include peacekeeping.

And Mulroney's cabinet saw policy would seek to restore the proportion of the defense budget that had declined to the purchase of new equipment to the 1970s benchmark of 50 per cent, from its current level of 23.2 per cent.

To that end, Mulroney says will decide in favor of the membership in the world flow from a withdrawal from Europe of Canada's remaining 7,000 troops there. Speaking to *Marathon*, Mulroney said that the \$1.2-billion annual cost of Canada's contingent in Germany "is as big as the budget of External Affairs." He added: "We have to find some money to extend the

budget for capital expenditures to the 50 per cent level."

But some analysts expressed deep concerns about any Canadian departure from Europe. Roger Hall senior research fellow with the Ottawa-based Canadian Institute for International Peace and Security, for one, said: "Eu-

ropean will decrease accordingly." But Mulroney says that other nations—among them France, Belgium and Germany itself—are also reducing their military commitments to NATO. Said Mulroney: "There is a question of unbinding out of NATO. The question is, from now on we have the best presence possible in NATO, and in what form?"

The government may face even greater opposition to any plan to dismantle additional military bases in Canada. In earlier rounds of base closures, in 1989, provoked widespread protests. Even today, however, P.E.I., which will lose its base in 1992, succeeded in placing its outrage before a national audience. And Mulroney may soon confront similar outcomes. Analysts say that the bases most vulnerable to renewed out-calling are in Chilliwack, B.C. (Shah, Mass.); Cornwall and Dartmouth, N.S.; and Goose Bay, Labrador. In Chilliwack, Mayor John Lee said that the town draws between 15 and 20 per cent of its economy from the local military engineers' training base—and its annual payroll of \$165 million. Said Lee: "You can't take that kind of chunks out of the economy and not feel the effects." And in Dartmouth, Mayor Savage said that the local economy is also "inextricably in the sleeping, dead." He added: "We're suffering a number of badly downgraded. I don't know how we'll deal with this one."

To such criticism, Mulroney is sympathetic—but not apologetic. "We recognize that it is painful," the minister said. "But the question presents itself: Do you want an army that is well equipped, or do you want an army with weak knees? I can't sacrifice the long-term



New officer graduates on parade: a top-heavy defence establishment



Mulroney, Mulroney, seeking money to modernize after the Cold War

CANADA'S MILITARY MACHINES

Fighting waves of budget austerity, the armed forces are trained to make do with some antiquated equipment



M113 armored personnel carrier
About 880 of the 1960s-vintage GM Canada APCs—priced then at \$53,000 each, and some since updated—are the army's engineering, transport and close combat workhorses.

Leopard C-1 tank

Delivery of 114 of the German-built mainstay of Canada's NATO brigade, at about \$1.7 million each, began in 1978



CF-18 Hornet

Ottawa acquired 138 of the \$25-million McDonnell Douglas fighters in the 1980s. Unscathed in Gulf War duty, 12 have crashed in accidents.

Old warships

Of 16 frigates and destroyers on the navy's commissioned list, nine date from the 1950s, the newest four from the 1970s. Those four destroyers, fully fitted, cost about \$63 million each



New frigates

Twelve frigates, at a projected cost of about \$450 million each, fully fitted, are due for delivery in the 1990s from Saint John, N.B., and Quebec shipyards. The first, HMCS *Halifax*, is nearly operational

Submarines

British-built for Canada in the 1960s, updated in the 1980s, the Ojibwa, Onondaga and Okanagan are now used mainly in anti-submarine warfare exercises





A Canadian CF-18 flies over southern Germany; after four decades, the order to break camp may come this summer

FAREWELL TO GERMANY?

CANADA'S NATO CONTINGENT MAY PULL OUT

In a training hangar in the Canadian military base in the German town of Lahr last week, one of the 8th Canadian Hussars stood around and pondered the future. It did not, they agreed, look bright. As members of Canada's only tank regiment, with a history dating back to 1840, the men are proud of their role and traditions. But the regiment's future is being questioned. The 1997 defense policy review, already, many Canadians serving in Germany express concern that the review will call for a withdrawal of Canadian troops from Europe—where they have been for the past 40

years as part of Canada's commitment to the North Atlantic Treaty Organization. "They're taking away our tanks and our people, and now they may be taking away the base," sighed Col. Pirovich, a 34-year-old tank crewman from Montreal. "I feel betrayed."

Break: The 7,506 Canadian servicemen and women stationed at Lahr and Baden-Söllingen—the bulk of Canada's contribution to NATO in Europe—have never held a chamber salute. The collapse of the Berlin Pact last July NATO withdrew its obvious threat. It has left Canada without a clear policy on what role the Canadian armed forces should play in the 16-nation alliance. Put the Canadian troops and their families, that adds up to personal uncertainty and professional worries. For some officers, it means a confusing battle to keep up

spirits. "It's very difficult," acknowledged Maj. Gen. Brian Smith, the 52-year-old commander of Canadian forces in Europe. "Whether the government decides to open a region B or option C, we want to get on with it."

If, in fact, Canadian forces are withdrawn from Lahr, it would end a connection that goes back nearly a quarter of a century. Since the

Canadian Air Force moved onto the base in 1957—the Canadian armoured forces established European headquarters there in 1976—a posting to Lahr has been a place assignment for officers and airmen, a chance to travel in Europe and work closely with other NATO forces in Germany; the Canadian military community—including soldiers' families and civilians serving the military—has swelled to some 30,000 people. And in Lahr itself, an

entire town on the edge of the Black Forest in southwestern Germany, 32,000 Germans live alongside 13,000 Canadians.

The Canadian presence in Lahr is immediately apparent. Every fourth or fifth car on the streets bears a red-and-white Canadian military license plate. Video stores and souvenir stores display maple leaves in their windows to attract Canadian customers. The Black of Montreal operates a busy branch on the downtown Schwarzwaldstrasse, alongside a supermarket that stocks Canadian newspapers, Cereals, spaghetti, Aflac, lettuce and pickles of Export Agriculture. A 70-bed hospital for the Canadian community—planned since 1993 and built at a cost of \$30 million—opened just last month. The town also hosts a radio station that broadcasts Canadian news in French and English, and even houses a disco-dancing club where enthusiastic Germans learn to do so alongside Canadians.

Danger: If Canadian forces are withdrawn, the local economy will clearly suffer. In Lahr and Baden-Söllingen, Canadians spend about \$400 million a year, on everything from cars to the local food scene. The Lahr city council is already studying proposals to convert the airfield to civilian use if the base is closed. But many local residents acknowledge that they are worried. If the generally quiet and well-behaved Canadians leave, they say, the German government may fill their vacant apartments with new immigrants from Eastern Europe or Turkey. "There is a real danger that we could get more and more social problems," cautions Lahr Mayor Werner Dietz.

Still, not all Germans would be sorry to see the Canadians go. Some, mostly on the political left, oppose military bases of any nationality on German soil. "Germans basically don't like the military in general, whether they are Canadian, American or even German," explains Rainer Hildebrandt, president of the Lahr German-Canadian Friendship Club. Others have praised the peace and environmental care of military exercises—especially the run of C-18 fighters around the Baden airbase. These concerns surfaced after April 17, 1996, when two Canadian CF-18s collided while on a training exercise over Karlsruhe in southwestern Germany. That accident resulted in the death of one pilot—and sent debate racing down on the surrounding countryside. Canadian fighter pilots, along with their German, American and British colleagues, now face severe restrictions on the skies over Germany—including a prohibition on flying below 1,000 feet. As a result, Canadian pilots go to exercise areas over the North Sea, Wales or even back to Canada to practice low-level flying.

Despite these restrictions, the Canadian command in Germany made it clear last week that they would prefer to keep their troops in Europe. Maj. Gen. Jean Boyle, commander of the air division based at Baden-Söllingen, acted as an interviewer with Marlene's first withdrawal from Germany would leave only two CF-18s in Europe—based at Gohlis, Ala., and in the air at Bayreuth, Ger. Without the lure of a posting in Europe, he said, it might be difficult

to attract and keep high-quality ground crew to keep the planes flying. And Boyle, Boyle said, gives his pilots a chance to work alongside U.S., French, British and German flyers—and experience the kind of multinational co-operation evident during the Persian Gulf crisis last fall and winter. "I'll be close here," Boyle added, "we're going to lose the ability to operate with our allies." Lt.-Col. Christopher Corrao of Hamilton, commander of the 8th Canadian Hussars, put it even more forcefully. "If we weren't here in Europe, we wouldn't be in the big leagues," noted Corrao, whose regiment has been stationed at Lahr since 1987. "We'd be a Perry or a Solovs."

Concerns about expending huge amounts have already been fueled by other military cuts. Last fall, Ottawa announced that the number of troops at the Lahr and Baden bases would be reduced by 1,400 this year. As part of

ford, Ont. "This is how I wanted to spend my life. Everything I see now makes me wonder if I'll have a job in five years." The possibility of closing Lahr, added Trooper Jeff Lezer, 33, of Berlin, Sask., is just another discouraging sign. "I makes you wonder whether what we're doing here is worth it," he said.

Relay: Not surprisingly, senior commanders insist that such fears are exaggerated. Maj. Gen. Smith maintained that Canada can still play an important role in a multinational NATO in Europe. NATO defense ministers meeting in Brussels approved a drastic overhaul of the alliance's forces—cutting their size by a third and reshuffling them into multinational defense corps. Canada was not mentioned in the plan, but Smith and his staff think that Canadian forces can find a role in the new NATO structure once Ottawa decides on official policy. "We're so close, but so is everybody else—and for good reasons," he said.



Smith in Lahr last week: "Everybody's waiting to see who's leading the dance"

that reduction, the tank regiment's strength will fall by a quarter—to 466 men from 638—and 16 of its 59 tanks will be mothballed. But even before those cuts, the tank crews were painfully aware that their German-made Leopard tanks, designed in the late 1960s, had long been superseded by more advanced and denser designs. "What it boils down to is, no matter how well we trained ourselves, we wouldn't have a chance if we had to defend ourselves," said Trooper Jeremy Wrench, 23, from Toronto.

Many of the tank regiment's young crewmen joined the Forces at the time of the Conservative government's 1987 defense white paper, which charted a steep expansion of the military to counter the Soviet buildup of the early 1980s. The opening of the Berlin Wall, the collapse of the Warsaw Pact and the retreat of Soviet troops soon made that approach outdated. Now, the young soldiers say, the government has reversed direction and is firm with little future. "I joined out of high school," he said, and Trooper Jeff Smith, 33, of Wis-

son, Ont. "I've like piled on the wall and then there's nothing in the Soviet Union, who's taking the lead in Europe. Everybody's waiting to see who's leading the dance."

In the meantime, the Canadians in Lahr and Baden are effectively on hold. Many are delaying buying cars or furniture—concerned that their savings in Germany may be curtailed. Others don't like to leave home afraid of difficult to sell their cars because there are fewer people arriving to replace them. Greg Pirovich, principal of the Canadian high school in Lahr, said that it already feels as though the base is about to close down. Though no official decision has been made, "It begins as starting to shut down a bit, without anybody actually announcing anything," he said. "There's an atmosphere of imminent doom." With the defense review expected early this summer, the Canadians in Lahr will soon know whether those fears will become reality.

ANDREW PHILLIPS in Lahr

A TRUE 'HARD-CORE'

PRIDE AND PROFESSIONALISM UNDER FIRE

Shot against the pink hue of the prebore sky, 43 soldiers from Charlie Company emerge, single file, from the darkness of the forest and walk down a dirt road to catch a ride into combat. The battle, on a chilly May morning, is a phony one: its objective is to capture a landing on the Canadian Forces base at Petawawa, Ont., using blank cartridges and firing on "enemy" expected to be a group of raw recruits still enrolled in combat school. Even so, there is a

Canada reducing its foreign military commitments in a dispiriting blow. "The only way we have in world affairs is through of NATO and the United Nations," he said. "Other than that, no one would recognize Canada."

Mack's short but dramatic tour in the Gulf was a high point in his 18-year military career. He joined the Forces in 1971, a 23-year-old who had grown tired of assembly-line work at the Peterborough, Ont. Quaker Oats plant that also employed his father. His family ran a small

to my emergency on as little as 24 hours' notice. The airborne commandos are its most select fighters, capable of parachuting from altitudes of up to 10,000 feet—often well behind enemy lines.

As a member of the Airborne, Mack made more than 500 jumps, from stubble to flight-course low as 600 feet and one written as viewed as the deserts of Texas and the Canadian Arctic. Much of his toughest training was done at Fort Bliss, Tex., and Fort Bragg, N.C., with the Green Berets, the Airborne's equivalent in the U.S. army. There, Mack learned how to jump from planes at high altitudes without opening his chute until he was close to the ground. He also endured a week of training at Fort Ben's Psychological Operations Center, including a day spent locked underground in a coffin. "I kind of got sucked into that one," he said. His younger colleagues, aware of his tough training, respectfully refer to him as "real hard-core."

Tough. The label has stuck ever since Mack left the Airborne a year ago to join number 506 east, the London-based Royal Canadian Regiment. The father of three now lives off the Canadian Forces base in London, but he plans to re-join the Airborne Regiment next year and stay until the money—probably at age 56. He likes to teach young soldiers, he said, and finds them to be "more educated and better fit" than the soldiers who entered the Forces 15 or 25 years ago. After retiring from the military, Mack added, he may devote time to helping former conscripts. "There are programs to expose these kids to the outdoors," he said. "I'd like to take them out and show them that they are not as tough as they think they are."

But he expounds anger at the media "who paid too much attention to the peace demonstrations and not enough to the guys serving their country" during the Gulf War, and towards a government whose budget cuts he says are undermining his profession. "Our soldiers are as good as anybody's, but the cuts hurt," he added. "Our training is going to go down the tubes, and that is going to affect the culture of our soldiers." That is a cost that defense planners will have to consider as they debate the future of the country's military.

But within two years, looking for "something different, where I could do a variety of tasks and travel a bit," Mack returned to the Canadian Airborne Regiment as the 506 as a commando. The 506 is the crack unit in the Canadian army, a quick-response force of about 3,400 soldiers under training orders to react



Mack's concern over the impact of the budget cuts.

beef and dairy farms outside Peterborough as well, where Mack developed a London hunting and fishing—and the taste for a job that would "let me be outdoors." Although his father had served as a Canadian armored corps during the Second World War, Mack entered the Forces as a regular soldier.

But within two years, looking for "something different, where I could do a variety of tasks and travel a bit," Mack returned to the Canadian Airborne Regiment as the 506 as a commando. The 506 is the crack unit in the Canadian army, a quick-response force of about 3,400 soldiers under training orders to react

triple of tension in the air as the soldiers, members of the Special Service Force (SSF) based in London, Ont., break into a scooped sprint towards five heavy transport helicopters that will ferry them to the assault. Only Sgt. Maj. David Mack, his legs dangling casually out of the open door of the lead chopper, seems confident. As the choppers fly into the rising sun—shortly the twilight and clings to the contours of Petawawa's topography, Mack smiles when asked if his adrenaline is pumping. Shooting over the ship of the rescue, the 35-year-old SSF member and former airborne commando says simply, "I'm used to jumping out of these things."

Emotion. Moments later, Mack does jump. But the drop is just four feet, sending him from the hovering Hury into a grassy pasture as a mock, easily faked. The way soldiers then back Charlie Company through thick woods crackling with gunfire towards the targeted bridge. Within 15 minutes, the mock battle is over, the bridge captured. The commo, who unexpectedly turned out to be members of Quebec's wanted Royal 22nd Regiment (the Van Dine) soldier that unexpectedness, was subdued after a short but nasty scuffle featuring angry threats and racial epithets. "The name calling is just the emotion of the esprit de corps between units," explained Mack. "A lot of the guys we were fighting against were friends of mine."

But later, the combative Mack acknowledged that there is more than mere one-on-one rivalry involving the Canadian Forces. Many soldiers admit to being demoralized by cuts to the military budget, especially after the Oka crisis and the Persian Gulf War gave the Canadian military a more prominent—and celebrated—profile. For Mack, a Gulf veteran who was stationed at Saudi Arabia after the Iraqi invasion as part of the security contingent for the Canadian field hospital, the prospect of



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A student defying tanks during the 1989 Tiananmen uprising: political dissent is now confined to covert complaining

WORLD

SILENT TYRANNY

There were a heightened police and military presence, a few broken pop bottles, a briefly clapped poster proclaiming "We shall never forget June 4"—and a silent silence among the general population. The second anniversary of Beijing's Tiananmen Square massacre, in which hundreds and perhaps thousands of pro-democracy demonstrators were shot down or crushed beneath tanks, passed last week with little outward sign of popular resentment against the authorities. Wherever the people of Beijing felt about the massacre, they kept it mostly to themselves. One 24-year-old Chinese journalist did comment that, despite the 33rd Crest, "I don't call my my heart"—but he insisted on anonymity. And with good reason. All over the country, the government staged a relentless campaign to stamp out dissent. Reported the New York Times-based human rights organization Asia Watch: "The past six months on China have been marked by the heaviest wave of violent trials since the summer of 1989." In fact, political dissent in China is now

CHINA'S OLD GUARD MAINTAINS ITS IRON GRIP TWO YEARS AFTER ORDERING THE TIANANMEN SQUARE MASSACRE

largely confined to covert complaining and small gestures of contempt. With senior leader Deng Xiaoping, 86, and his Old Guard comrades still firmly in control, the government's so-called rectification program has returned the country to orthodox Marxism-Leninism, farmed with the savings of former chairman Mao Zedong. Political education has increased in schools and workplaces. University

students must spend their freshman year in the military and their first year after graduation working on farms or in factories. The media are tightly controlled. The Chinese leadership now proclaims the "stability" of the nation, but many foreign observers remain appalled. Still one Western diplomat still works on conditions of anonymity: "If you call stability the total repression of the people's hopes for change, then, yes, I guess you can say that China is politically stable."

Despite Western criticism and the abhorrence of many U.S. congressmen, President George Bush last week reiterated his intention to rescue China's "most favored nation" trading status. "It is wrong to isolate China if we hope to influence it," said Bush in a speech at Yale University in New Haven, Conn. Meanwhile, criticism for the abuses mounted in Hong Kong, the tiny but thriving British colony that is scheduled to revert to Chinese rule in 1997. There, scores of thousands of people staged emotional demonstrations in celebration of the death of Tiananmen Square. And the Hong

Kong legislature narrowly passed a bill of rights that was obviously intended to safeguard basic freedoms after the takeover.

That only served to anger the government in Beijing. Insisting the human rights were already fully safeguarded, Chinese officials gave notice that they had the authority to overturn the bill of rights once they took over. Faced with such menacing signs, Hong Kong's elite have been leaving the island at a rate of about 1,000 a week. Many of them bound for Canada. Southwesterner Song Chao Wu Shao: "Few people think about Tiananmen now—they have moved on. The ones who have the ability are trying to move out."

On the eve of the anniversary, Western human rights organizations condemned the Chinese crackdown as despicable. The trials of pro-democracy activists were "totally lacking in due process," said Asia Watch. It added that although the total number of jailed dissidents

concentrated in the government in Beijing.

Chinese university students were delivering a message of their own. By throwing pop bottles out of windows at Beijing University, they were expressing outrage for Deng Xiaoping, whose given name is a sound alike for "little bottle." A police detachment guarded the provocation, while the 100-acre Tiananmen Square remained quiet under the watchful eye of police and soldiers. One sign of the government's determination to stifle by its slogan of "stability over all" was the decision to delay any announcement of the death of Jiang Qing, 77, the disgraced widow of Mao Zedong. An official communiqué, withheld until the anniversary ended, revealed that Qing, who had been serving a life sentence for crimes against the state, committed suicide on May 14. A leader of the so-called Gang of Four, she had been held responsible for the excesses of the Cultural Revolution, which transformed China



Students nursing a wounded comrade during the massacre trials and fear

was not known, estimated ranged from several thousand to 38,000, with prison terms ranging from two to 13 years or hard labor. In its own report, the London-based Amnesty International remarked that although the international community had issued its criticisms of China "the abuses themselves have never stopped."

Amnesty added that several hundred dissidents were believed to have been executed over the past two years. And New York's International League for Human Rights criticized China's major trading partners, including the United States, for citing "positive developments" as a reason for easing trade restrictions. "Human rights conditions, far from improving, have continued the downward slide," said the league.

Meanwhile in Ottawa, the government is slated that further cooperation between Canada and China on the economic front would depend on improvements in Beijing's human rights record. Prime Minister Brian Mulroney declared in the House of Commons: "We have stipulated that very carefully, and we have

between 1982 and 1988. And although she was widely hated, the arbitrators clearly felt that any announcement of her death before the Tiananmen anniversary might lead to street protests that could spin out of control."

In one way, China is moving forward: its economy is growing rapidly, with industrial growth up 12.2 per cent as the first four months of this year, inflation under control at 3.1 per cent, exports soaring and foreign exchange reserves rising. But the country is paying a price for those advances. According to ecological environmental experts, China's industrial areas are among the most polluted on earth. A report last week by the nation's official Environment Protection Bureau listed sewage-filled rivers and massive soil erosion, as well as air quality that is so bad in some cities that people commonly wear face masks. It warned that, in more ways than one, the Chinese people seemed to be in line

JOHN BIERMAN AND VALERIE BOSSER in Beijing and FRANCES KELLY in Hong Kong

World Notes

TERROR IN ALBANIA

The Communist government of Albania, Enver's heir Shkëlzen, state, signed an end to a three-week general strike by 350,000 workers that brought the country to a standstill. President Ramo has quickly appointed Ylli Dedi, the headmaster the previous administration, to head a multiparty committee government will elections next year.

A HEALTHY CANADIAN MODEL

A report by the U.S. government's General Accounting Office concludes that adopting a government-funded health care system, based partly on Canada's, could save more than \$86 billion a year—enough to cover the \$2.6 billion Americans who do not have health insurance. Later, Senate Democrats unveiled a reform plan that would require employers to provide health coverage for workers and their families or contribute a percentage of their payroll to a federal-state public insurance program.

A MYSTERIOUS BLAST

One week after rebels took control of Addis Ababa, the Ethiopian capital, an ammunition dump caught fire and spread to a fuel dump. Red Cross officials said that the resulting explosion killed more than 100 people. Rebel leaders blamed soldiers loyal to ousted military dictator Mengistu Haile Mariam, who fled the East African country last month after 14 years in power. Meanwhile the rebels named a new government to run the country as it plans talks later this month.

ALGERIA UNDER SHOCK

After three days of violent protests by Muslim militants demanding an Islamic state, Algeria President Chadli Bendjedid declared a state of siege, accepted the government's resignation and scheduled postponed elections. The North African country had planned to hold its first multi-party general election in June 27.

BOMBING LIBANON

Israeli warplanes bombed Palestinian guerrilla bases in southern Lebanon, killing 22 people and wounding 80 others. The air strikes were seen as Israel's first response since its invasion of Lebanon in 1982.

A KILLER VOLCANO

An eruption of Mount Unzu, on the Japanese island of Kyushu, killed at least 38 people. Many of the victims were burned to death as the intense volcanic burst, and more than 6,000 people fled their homes on the mountain slope.

THE UNITED STATES

A four-star celebrity

'Stormin' Norman' is cashing in on war fever

THE NEWSTAR on Broadway last week was not unusual, but in the audience. The crowd at the hit musical *The Rat Patrol* began waving its warrent options for a beefy, beret-clad military man who has become the highlight star in the American Ensemble. Private Gulf War heroism Gen. Norman Schwarzkopf, a 1990s version of *Sgt. and World War veteran Dwight D. Eisenhower* and Douglas MacArthur, the commander of allied forces in the Gulf War posed to trade his desert stripes for civvies and market his medals into a multimedia-advertising campaign. Political operatives have recognized his name as a possible national candidate. Marvin Josephson, Schwarzkopf's literary agent and host at New York City's Palace Theatre last week, said that the Broadway reception "was the first time I saw every single person at a New York audience give someone a standing ovation." He added: "It was an emotional, it was unbelievable."

The emotion hit a fever pitch on June 8 in Washington, where Schwarzkopf led 5,800 Desert Storm troops in the largest military victory parade since the Second World War. The Pentagon even provided some of its high-tech weaponry for the occasion, including the Stealth fighter, *Tomahawk* cruise missiles and MIA's tanks that provided their medals the same way. Not to be outdone, New York Mayor David Dinkins heralded that his city's decorations on June 10, featuring Schwarzkopf along with 10,000 ft of color tape and a million yellow ribbons, would be the "mother of all parades." Ronald Wilkes, managing director of the Washington office of Boni/Frederick International Inc., an executive-search firm, said that "the parades reflect the euphoria and the excitement about winning a hard-fought decisive war." He added: "We may have conceived it a bit as a satire, but the underlying principle is that out of this short and successful combat in the Gulf, we emerged as the heroes and victors."

Schwarzkopf, a decorated commander who earned two tours of duty in Vietnam, is the most potent symbol of that sentiment. The balding, modest, three-neck-garbed, nicknamed both "the Bear" and "Stormin' Norman", managed to convey a sense of camp for the international television event as he embodied crushing military might against Iraq. President Saddam Hussein: "People loved the war," said Mark Miller, media director professor at Johns Hopkins University in Baltimore, "because it offered a fantasy—it was a great American kick." In the postwar aftermath, supermodel talk-shows have par-

over the "240-lb. general" with his "bulky chin"—the *National Enquirer* pronounced him America's sexiest man. "Norman Schwarzkopf is the number 1 star in America today," said Warren Cowan, chairman of Rogers and Cowan Inc., a Los Angeles public relations firm. "More than Madonna."

In fact, offers have poured in to Schwarzkopf's International Creative Management (ICM), one of Hollywood's top talent agencies, with requests for Schwarzkopf to endorse everything from action-movie toys to men's cologne. Ameri-



Schwarzkopf and his wife, Brenda, ticker tape and a million yellow ribbons

can West Airlines has even branded a Schwarzkopf look-alike of campaign, which stars comedian Jonathan Winters as a beefy general in desert fatigues and champagne, the carrier's "air superiority." Josephson insists that his client has spawned cross-commercial exploitation in his celebrity. "He's not a national idol," Josephson added. "He's a four-star general who has touched a real chord in Americans." Josephson said that the star has acquired 800 letters and calls each day, and rejected all endorsements and commercials—except pins from eager entrepreneurs to telephone the Saudi royal family, with whom Schwarzkopf worked closely while in the Gulf to arrange business deals.

Corporate America has also reacted

Schwarzkopf into his headquarters with offers to apply his management style to everything from savings-and-loan bailout agencies to football teams. In the political arena, Florida Republicans are trying to persuade him to run for the Senate. And conservative columnist William Safire even suggested that the "Big Guy" could capture the Democratic presidential nomination as easily as he could the Iraqi. Schwarzkopf belongs to neither political party.

And although he has declined to rule out politics altogether, he has expressed no interest in joining the flag in the near future. Instead, Schwarzkopf, who had long planned to retire from the military in August, has chosen Kofi's Josephson, whose other personal clients are Henry Kissinger and Barbara Walters, to represent him as a book deal that could top \$5 million. "The most important thing he wants to do is to work on his memoirs," said Josephson. "It gives him a chance in a dignified way to make the money he never had the chance to do before."

Still, some critics have questioned the cam-

erism of Schwarzkopf's celebrity status—especially because the Gulf victory was followed by a bloody civil war and the mass crucifix of desperate Kurds fleeing Iraq's army. "It's a mess over there," said Gerald Neppes, a business professor at Carnegie Mellon University in Pittsburgh. "What the hell do we see?" Asked John Hoyer's *Miami*. "The war was a big success, affluently paid, and that to us seems because highly visible because of it. Schwarzkopf's appearance to exploit his standing contacts has with the Ronald Reagan era. For millions of Americans, however, Schwarzkopf remains an untamed hero, poised to collect the spoils of war.

Even as the Democrats chased victory last week, they expressed concerns that Bush, by winning on the TV average, might exploit the vote to his advantage. Pollsters have found that the majority of white Americans are opposed to quotas in hiring. In one recent poll, released by *The Washington Post* and ABC News, 68 per cent of white respondents said that they were opposed to affirmative action, or race-preference programs. In fact, some political strategists contend that working-class whites, the traditional backbone of the Democratic party, feel so strongly about the issue that they could shut out the Republicans' camp.

Then on Tuesday bells blew the issue last week, each proposing different strategies to reverse a series of 2000 Supreme Court rulings that restrict most appeals for minorities to job-discrimination suits. The bills were also designed to enhance the study of people discriminated against on the basis of race, religion, affiliation, national origin or disabled status to use for damages. The so-called "race" bill, supported by the Congressional Black Caucus, would have allowed additional damages to be awarded to any minority-group sex abuse or women who were a cause of discrimination.

The politics of race

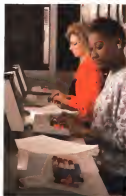
A partisan battle over job discrimination

ONCE again, lawmakers debated the most dense of American issues, race, on the floor of Congress—and this time, it threatened to become a central theme of the 1992 presidential election campaign. Last week the House of Representatives barely split along party lines over competing civil rights bills aimed at eliminating job discrimination against minorities. As expected, the majority of Republicans voted in favor of a Democratic-sponsored bill that President George Bush has promised to veto.

But the bill would encourage the racial employment quotas. The bill, which passed by a margin of 273 to 158, would affect only a top percentage of the population—people who can prove job discrimination. But with the election just 17 months away, the absence of racial politics was in the air. Republican Henry Hyde of Illinois declared that the bill will "institutionalize class, ethnic and gender preferences under the false flag of civil rights." And Democrat Richard Gephardt of Missouri, the House majority leader, countered that the administration was trying "to divide Americans on the basis of race in order to score points in a political campaign."

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Office workers' fears of racial employment quotas

against an employer. It was easily defeated by a vote of 277 to 152. The second bill, debated by 286 votes to 163, was the Bush plan, which most Republicans favored. It would have set strict limits on damages. The third, and successful, bill was the Democratic proposal. It would allow minorities and women to sue for an unlimited amount of compensatory damages and a maximum of \$172,000 in punitive damages in cases of proven job discrimination.

The Democratic bill, which now goes to the Senate, declares hiring quotas "an illegal employment practice." But Bush claims that it will encourage employers to protect themselves against potentially ruinous discrimination suits by hiring certain percentages of minorities and women, reflecting the national mood. It would prevent the provision in the bill that specifically bans quotas. Bush declared: "You can't put a quota on a pig and say it's a horse." Speaker of the House Thomas Foley was worried by the President's opposition. He said that it is the "constant rhetoric about quotas that is creating division in the country," and added: "The President is scared as hell of losing racial or

other divisions in this society is incredible." The Democrats have been driving to make their congressional agenda to overturn a presidential veto. That would require a two-thirds majority of the House, or 290 votes if all 435 legislators participate. But if Bush does veto the bill, as expected, the liberal wing of the Democratic party, whose constituents include the majority of black voters, will likely bring a similar bill to the floor next year—almost guaranteeing that racial discrimination will become a major election issue.

That prospect has normally elicited Republican Senator Jesse Helms's campaign to block any Democratic opposition. In a tight race with Democratic opponent Harvey Gantt, who is black, the right-wing North Carolina lawmaker runs a series of television commercials on radio and television claiming that Gantt supported racial quotas. One of those ads showed a white job applicant crumpling an application letter, while a voice-over said that the position had gone to a non-qualified black because of quotas. Political analysts say that the newly begun commercials played on white concerns about reverse discrimination and contributed to Gantt's defeat. Democrats charge that the Republicans could use the racial suit to similar effect in 1992.

In the run-up to the election, Bush's own weakness in the economy, however, if the recession continues, the quotas issue could become all the more potent for the Republicans as whites become increasingly tired of losing their jobs. Helms, then, a civil rights expert with the organization, Washington-based Brookings Institution, declared: "If the Bush administration succeeds in carving this as a debate over quotas and is able to label the Democrats as proponents of racial quotas, they will have outplayed the political terrain." Added his Brookings colleague, political analyst Thomas Mann: "The Democrats need to resolve this issue and move on to other things. If this comes up again next year, it will do further damage to the Democrats' race and political budget."

In the hope of reaching some form of compromise, a group of moderate Republican senators plan to introduce a measure this week that includes elements of all the anti-job-discrimination bills. Led by John Danforth of Missouri, the senators aim to settle the debate by ensuring that employers have only those qualified for a specific job. "Finding a consensus means the proposal will meet no one's definition of a great bill," said Danforth. The point, he added, was to pass legislation "so there is no conflict here for those who want to work, and a bill." But the bill faces a rocky road, with some of the most vocal critics, who have said to use their protected status, discrimination appeared to be the better part of virtue.

WILLIAM LOWTHER in Washington

THE SOVIET UNION

Please—or else . . .

Gorbachev pleads for aid and threatens chaos

Mikhail Gorbachev was at his freshest last in Oslo last week when he finally accepted his Nobel Peace Prize, awarded for his part in ending the Cold War. In the course of a 45-minute address, Gorbachev managed to threaten the West even as he begged for its money. "If peace talks fail," he declared, "the prospect of entering a new peaceful period in history will vanish, at least for the foreseeable future." Domestic turmoil had prevented the Soviet leader from collecting his prize at the Norwegian capital last Dec. 10—and his emotional appearance was overshadowed by Irish concerns about military action in the Belfast hot spot. Then, Soviet soldiers who were searching for army deserters briefly set up checkpoints in the Lithuanian capital of Vilnius, prompting Lithuanian President Vytautas Landsbergis to speculate that a military crackdown might occur during Gorbachev's absence. But Gorbachev spokesman Yury Ignatyev said that Landsbergis was simply trying to envenomate the Soviet president. "Every time relations with the West start looking better," added Ignatyev, "Landsbergis does something like this."

In his Nobel speech, Gorbachev again admonished warring political and economic reformers for his disappointing empire in a clear bid to improve his relations with Western leaders, many of whom had expressed concerns about the Soviet president's apparent shift to the right in recent months. And he played down the significance of tactical swings between the conservatives and reformers camps. Said Gorbachev: "Jumping to conclusions after every step taken by the Soviet leadership, after every decree by the president, trying to figure out whether it is moving left or right, backward or forward, would be an exercise in futility."

In any case, the war was again last week that Western leaders still backing on the Soviet leader. British officials said that Prime Minister John Major was expected to write Gorbachev on next week of the Group of Seven industrial nations after their summit in London next month. And President George Bush named 79-year-old Robert Strauss, a businessman, lawyer and Democratic strategist, as Soviet ambassador. The nomination of Bush's close friend, a renowned defense

was an apparent signal not only that the White House placed a high value on U.S.-Soviet relations, but also that it was intent on helping the Communists down a more capitalistic road.

Western leaders are clearly concerned about Gorbachev's commitment to reform. Last October, he rejected a radical economic program that would have prevented the beleaguered



Gorbachev: he still has friends in the West

Soviet economy without a more 500-day. And in January, a bungled military crackdown against indigenous forces in the Baltics threatened Gorbachev's Nobel award and left 33 people dead in Latvia and Lithuania. Peacetime reports of sabotage said that action helped to delay a U.S.-Soviet summit that was scheduled to be held in Moscow in late June or early July. And even as Gorbachev's representatives traveled London, Washington and other Western capitals in search of essential aid, there were

clear signs that conservative elements in such still-strong institutions as the KGB, the army and the Communist party continue to exert a powerful influence on Kremlin policy.

For one thing, the hard-line policy that Gorbachev repeatedly maintained last fall and winter—keeping the Soviet Union intact at all costs—reflected again in an official Soviet report on the Minskian in Lithuania. According to dozens of Western reporters who were in Vilnius last January, Soviet soldiers opened fire on a crowd of unarmed protesters who had surrounded a television center. Despite those eye-witness accounts, however, and photographs showing one of the protesters being crushed by a tank, Soviet prosecutor Gennadi Trubin concluded last week that the rioters who stormed the TV tower were not responsible for the deaths of 13 civilians and saw riot officers. According to Trubin, Lithuanian rioters armed with automatic weapons killed six people, while other victims in the crowd fell under tanks. Angered Lithuanian nationalists accused KGB riot officials of using the investigation's release in order to shield Gorbachev from criticism in Oslo, and Landsbergis warned that the report would directly encourage the Soviet military to engage in such actions again.

Gorbachev himself has avoided comment on that report—and its disturbing implications that KGB riot conservatives still have the power to carry up the actions of an army that is nominally under his control. Still, some of Gorbachev's most persistent critics, including Russian republic leader Boris Yeltsin, say that the Soviet president recently relented as alliance with reformers in the 15 republics—once he realized that he could not govern without them. According to Yeltsin, democratic forces, including members of the 15 republics' parliaments and the organizers of a crippling nationwide coal miners' strike, lashed the conservatives' so-called master assault to restrain central control. In a recent interview in the government daily newspaper *Izvestia*, Yeltsin said: "Gorbachev finally understood that he could not act at all without support from the left."

As tensions from the Kremlin dwindle between Western capitals, the depth of the Soviet leader's commitment to economic change is one of the key factors for potential donors as they consider the size and type of any aid program. In his Nobel Prize address, Gorbachev professed a year wrapped in a blanket pay for the Soviet's economic transformation or risk the consequences of a nuclear power dissolving into civil chaos. But in the best traditions of the marketplace, both sides must still agree at an acceptable price.

MALCOLM GIBBY in Moscow



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FADE TO BLACK



Karp: 'There were many bleak, black days when I questioned whether our problems would overcome us'

They live across the street from each other in the affluent Toronto neighborhood of Forest Hill, but that is one of the few things that Allen Karp and Garth Drabinsky have in common. From 1986 and 1989, the two men worked together at Cineplex Odeon Corp., the Toronto-based company that Drabinsky, a tough and temperamental entrepreneur, built into North America's second-largest movie theatre chain. But after a notorious battle for control, Cineplex's owner shareholders—investor-owned conglomerate MCA Inc. of Universal City, Calif., and the Cleveland Group, a holding company controlled by Montreal billionaire Charles Bronfman—fired Drabinsky in December, 1989. Karp, previously the company's senior vice-president, took over as president and chief executive officer. A soft-spoken former corporate lawyer, he has spent much of the past 18 months surrounding the sprawling entertain-

ALLEN KARP BRINGS A SOBER APPROACH TO CINEPLEX AFTER THE FLAMBOYANT ERA OF GARTH DRABINSKY

ment conglomerate that Drabinsky put together during a decade of revenues acquisition. These distinct visions for the company have clearly left little room for friendship between the two neighbors. Says Karp: "I guess you could say that we're fortunate we live in an

area where the neighbors are far apart."

The marked contrast in their personal styles is reflected in Cineplex's corporate history. Founded by Drabinsky and veteran movie theatre owner Nathan Taylor in 1978, Cineplex grew rapidly during its first decade, swallowing up the Canadian Odeon Theatre chain in 1984 and investing hundreds of millions of dollars in expensive new theatres with state-of-the-art three-dimensional and electronic sound systems. At its peak, in 1988, the company operated 1,680 theatres at 500 locations in Canada, the United States and Britain. But Drabinsky's ambitious expansion drive left the company \$757 million in debt—it still owes \$246.5 million to Canadian and foreign banks. In an effort to revive the company, Karp has sold off many of its holdings and cut a drastically more modest corporate spend. "We're trying to keep a lower profile," he told *Maclean's* last week. "Under the former leadership, a lot of us

were concerned about how low the company was swimming without showing."

Even before he took the reins at Cineplex, Karp says he had a clear idea of what needed to be done to salvage the flailing company. Included in what he'd learned from Drabinsky's business office staff, Karp immediately began to sell off assets unrelated to Cineplex's film exhibition business, including a minority share in the Universal Studios theme park in Orlando, Fla., and a film laboratory in Toronto. Karp also reorganized the terms of the company's long-term debt—what he took over, its cash flow was insufficient to meet interest payments. Besides Karp, "There were many bleak, black days when I questioned whether our problems would overcome us. Every day, it seemed there were forecasting out of left field. It was hard to plan anything."

To save on operating costs, Karp slashed head-office staff to 198 from 375. Cineplex reversed Drabinsky's corporate jet, saving \$54 million a year, and leased its corporate box at Toronto's SkyDome stadium to another company for \$306,000 a year. According to Karp, eliminating the personal belongings and possessions that Drabinsky had used resulted in further savings of about \$400,000 a year. By the end of last year, those and other measures had reduced Cineplex's overhead costs by 28 per cent, to \$86 million. Although Patrick Raymond, an analyst with the Toronto-based investment firm McDermott-St. Lawrence, says that Karp's changes have robbed Cineplex of much of its "excitement and romance," he added: "The company needed this kind of discipline."

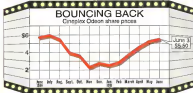
For his part, Drabinsky claims to have no regrets about his stewardship of Cineplex. "I'm

turned a profit since 1984. In 1990, the company lost \$177.5 million on revenues of \$701 million. I had an extraordinary investor in New York City, who asked not to be identified. "Karp may do a good job with what he has to work with, but I don't see where he can create tons of value for shareholders. He has taken all the easy steps already. The key to profitability will be in things that are tough to build, like popcorn sales."

Indeed, Karp says that increased sales of soft drinks and snack foods at theatre sites will likely play a significant part in the company's recovery. In the first quarter of this year, revenues from concession sales went up by 29 per cent. At about \$152 million annually, such sales account for nearly 25 per cent of total revenues. The current strategy is to improve those high-margin sales by redesigning concession counters, installing more efficient equipment and providing sales incentives.

Stockpiles argue that Karp's drive to slash spending will hurt the company's reputation for the innovative design and attractive facilities that have appealed to managers in the past. Karp, however, insists that there is room to tighten operations without choking them. "We're in the retail business, so we have to stay selling and existing in order to compete," he said. "But my predecessor was an enormously important man. And in construction projects, he made mistakes."

While Karp and his fellow executives struggle to stabilize the company's finances, there is one major variable over which they have little control—the success of the films that Cineplex exhibits. Critics point out that much of the company's recent program can be attributed to exceptional luck with the popularity of movies



very proud of what I accomplished in the film business, and that can seem to be taking away from me," he told *Maclean's* last week. "I spent years building a company and I'm proud of that. But this company," says a co-owner of Toronto's Pantheon Theatre and of the Canadian rights to Andrew Lloyd Webber's hit musical *The Phantom of the Opera*, Drabinsky said that he plans to concentrate in the future on stage live performances. "My future is in theatre," he added. "I have had no attitude to fix."

Despite Karp's efforts, the company has not

JOBLESS RATE RISES

Canada's unemployment rate rose slightly in May to 17.3 per cent from 16.2 per cent in April, Statistics Canada said. The agency reported that there were 15,000 more people without jobs, bringing the total number of unemployed Canadians to 1.41 million. At the same time, the number of jobs with jobs rose by 34,000, the second consecutive monthly increase.

GST WATCHDOG ASSAILED

MCA from all three major federal parties criticized the federal GST Consumer Information Office after it acknowledged that it has yet to identify publicly any companies known to be overcharging consumers. The agency has received about 7,000 complaints since the seven-per-cent tax went into effect on Jan. 1. But the office's executive director, John Hay, said that companies have either purified their price increases or lowered prices in response to inquiries by officials.

FIRST, THE GOOD NEWS

Ontario's business community reacted mixed today from the province's HST government. After months of criticism from corporate leaders, the government withdrew controversial sections of its proposed wage protection bill that would have generally eliminated directors and officers of bankrupt companies to pay back wages to laid-off workers. But Ontario realtors attacked another HST proposal that would limit the types of businesses allowed to open on Sundays.

RAISE-RATE DROP

The Bank of Canada lowered its benchmark interest rate below one per cent for the first time in more than three years, to 0.96 per cent from 0.98 per cent the week before. The rate is now at its lowest, since April, 1986.

FRANCIS TAKES CHARGE

Retired business journalist and *Maclean's* columnist Duke Francis is the new editor of *The Financial Post*, a long-running John Godefray, who assumes the role of editor-at-large, Canada, at the daily business publication.

TIRE INDUSTRY PLATTENS

Unemployment Tire Co. announced that it would close its operations in Canada if it has two plants in Kalamazoo, Mich., where the company is the largest industrial employer. If Unipac closes both plants, 2,000 people will lose their jobs. The company blamed the moves on overcapacity in the industry, which has been aggravated by a slump in car sales.

DEBORAH MCINTYRE



Weinston: to compete abroad, Canadians must learn 'to compete at home'

A watchdog with bite

The competition bureau's delicate balance

His favorite sport is tennis—and by all accounts, Howard Weinston is a ferocious competitive player. But to the dismay of some business leaders, Weinston displays the same tenaciousness all the court, as director of the federal government's Bureau of Competition Policy. In March, he challenged two of the country's major corporate players, Canada Packers Inc. of Toronto and John Lafré Ltd. of London, Ont., by asking to annul the merger of their flour-milling operations. Each of the two giants has since strongly criticized the bureau's decision, arguing that it will undermine their ability to compete with larger American firms. But Weinston told *Maclean's* that he stands by his decision: "The flour industry in Canada," he said bluntly, "has been operating like a cartel for years."

The flour-milling decision was only the most controversial case to come before the 40-year-old Government's lawyer since he became Canada's competition watchdog in October, 1989. It also dramatized the opposing pressures on the competition bureau as it tries to make business leaders feel the world is not gradually coming closer. Weinston's primary responsibility, as set out by the 1986 Competition Act, is to ensure that consumers' interests are protected and that businesses do not gain an overwhelming share of the domestic market for their products. But at the same time, many

companies say that they need to grow, sometimes at the expense of competition, in order to take on large, foreign-owned firms, particularly those based in the United States.

Weinston's predecessor, Calvin Goldstein, likes the task of balancing these interests to walking a tightrope. "It's a difficult process, but someone has to do it," said Goldstein, now a corporate lawyer in Toronto. "Otherwise, it would be a free-for-all." Indeed, Weinston himself said that the previous competition law, the 1966 Competition Development Act, left federal officials almost powerless to stand up to businesses that engaged in anti-competitive practices. "Up to 1986, we virtually had no merger law in Canada," he noted. By contrast, the new law gives the bureau sweeping powers to investigate, overturn and rework mergers. Of course, that RFP was prompted by the horror tale of 1956, when 750 were given approval with no changes. In most of the others, the bureau negotiated changes to the proposed deals intended to protect consumers. Weinston's decisions can be applied to a wide political spectrum in the Competition Tribunal, but few reach that stage—in part because the agreed process is time-consuming and expensive.

The proposed merger of Canada Packers' and Labatt's milling and baking interests, announced in September, 1990, would have created the largest bakery in Canada and the fifth

largest in North America, with annual sales of more than \$850 million. But Weinston argued that the deal would have hurt consumers, who rely on competition in the flour industry to maintain stable prices for bread, other baked goods and pasta. After months of negotiation with the two firms, the bureau said that it would approve the merger only if each of the companies sold all one of its large flour mills—something they refused to do. "I went as far as I could go," Weinston said during an interview in his 27th-floor office in Hull, Que. "I was trying to preserve a competitive situation while enabling the firms to do what they wanted."

Three weeks after the two food companies decided to abandon their merger plans, another story was written: this is a conciliatory mood. David Newton, president and chief executive officer of Canada Packers, for one, says that the ultimate result of Ottawa's action may be to drive one or the other of the companies out of the flour-milling business. "We could close all our flour mills and buy back the States," Newton told *Maclean's*. "I'm sorry to sound bitter, but that is one of the options."

Weinston, for his part, says that he believed Canada Packers and Labatt were unwilling to sell off some of their operations because they did not want to face increased competition in their existing markets. He added that both food companies were exaggerating the potential impact of freer trade between Canada and the United States on the flour-milling industry. "One of the fundamental ways for Canadians to be able to compete abroad is to be able to compete at home," said Weinston, who worked for the Consumers Association of Canada in Ottawa in 1961-1962. He then served as counsel to two federal agencies before joining the bureau as senior deputy director in 1986.

The battle with Canada Packers and Labatt is not the only fight that Weinston has on his hands these days. Several companies are challenging the constitutional authority of the competition bureau. Among other things, they maintain that Weinston and his officials have exceeded their authority.

Despite those pressures, Weinston vows to continue enforcing the competition law. Although he likes to play acoustic guitar and reads Russian novels in his spare time, he says that the bureau is his home for as many as 75 hours a week, including most weekends. Says Weinston, who is unmarried: "The job requires that kind of commitment." That fierce dedication suggests that his next recent run-in with corporate Canada will not be his last.

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BUSINESS

The end of an era

Simpsons falls victim to hard times

It survived for 120 years, and at its peak operated stores from Regina to Halifax. Thousands of other Canadians knew the Simpsons department store chain from its mail-order catalogues. But last week, as parent company and former longtime rival—Macdon's Bay Co. of Toronto—announced that Simpsons had only a few more months to live. The reason: Simpsons has earned only marginal profits since Hudson's Bay bought the chain in 1976, despite determined efforts to slash costs by closing unprofitable stores, laying off hundreds of employees and merging Simpsons' buying and advertising operations with those of the Bay chain.

Hudson's Bay president George Kosch and that Simpsons prospects of surviving the current recession were so poor that he decided to sell six of the chain's 24 remaining stores, all of them in the Toronto area, to Sears Canada Inc. of Toronto. The other eight Simpsons stores, including the remodeled downtown flagship store on Queen Street, where the chain began as a small dry-goods shop in 1872, will be converted into Bay outlets.

Earlier in the week, the Bay had been at the centre of controversy after Maclean's published a report in which a senior Bay executive criticized Ontario's economic policies and said that, as a result, the company was "very actively thinking" about moving its warehousing, distribution and internal communications operations to the United States to take advantage of lower taxes and operating costs. Initially, Hudson's Bay officials denied the Maclean's report. But Kosch himself said that such a move could become inevitable unless the federal and provincial governments reduce taxes and adopt other policies that help businesses to compete. Later, Macdon's Bay vice-president Ralph Richard told Maclean's that the possibility of moving some operations to the United States had indeed been discussed within the company. "There have been preliminary discussions about that," Richard said. "We don't have any firm plans, but it was felt that this was something we ought to look at."

Retail analysts say that Simpsons, which

earned a profit last year of \$2.6 million on revenues of \$435 million, was suffering from several internal and industry-wide problems. For one thing, they say, Hudson's Bay had failed to distinguish the Simpsons stores from those of the Bay—even though the two chains intensely competed against each other in some Toronto-area malls. As well, department



Simpsons' flagship Toronto store: marginal profits

stores as general are losing customers to smaller specialty shops. But Toronto retail analyst John Webster: "The industry is in deep trouble." Even so, Webster and other analysts say that the deal will help Sears, Canada's largest department store chain, by giving it a strong presence in the Toronto market. Speculators lay both Sears and the Bay declined to disclose the value of the deal. But Sears' general manager of corporate affairs, Ross Rapson, said that his company's officials "have had serious eyes on these stores for some time." While Sears executives were elaborating their opposition, Kosch and his colleagues seemed relieved at having rid themselves of a troublesome, if historic, adversary.

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THE WELL-INFORMED CHOICE.



Next: a free trade zone in defence?

BY PETER C. NEWMAN

It suddenly occurred to me, watching the Mulroney government's unilateral disarmament policy applied to Canada's partner armed forces, that what we've got here is a simple extension of our Free Trade Agreement. In other words, as FTAA—a Free Trade Defence Pact that shares the contract, surrenders our sovereignty and turns the defence of Canada over to the Yanks.

The first step, of course, was cancellation of the Polar-Si convention, which had been associated with great fanfare by the government as the centrepiece of its intention to assert sovereignty over our Arctic. Those sovereignty claims had been disavowed by American ships using the Northwest Passage as their own waterway. When the U.S. Coast Guard icebreaker Polar Sea first breached that icy passage without even notifying us in 1985, as angry Joe Clark, then minister of external affairs, threatened that what was so shocking about the incident was that "we had so few means to assert our means of control," that that the incident occurred. The government quickly opted to build the Polar icebreaker, which would have been the world's largest, with Clark correctly warning that "sovereignty claims that you don't defend gradually disappear."

Then came cancellation of the nuclear-powered submarines, whose main purpose was not, as their critics contended, to shoot at anybody, but to sink them under-the-sea staying power to assert command of our North. Last month, the government cancelled the army's proposed \$219-million purchase of 414 side-track, northern-terrain vehicles that would have provided mobility for troops north of 50° in protecting the North, we now really are down to Munitions on Ski-Doo's, handing soldiers parking tickets (Well, not exactly. The Airborne Regiment issues its best Arctic snow-mob weapons—but once loaded they can't get very far, having to pull their own toboggans.)

At the moment, fewer than 300 troops are stationed (mostly at Yellowknife and Alert) in an underfunded under which to receive their Star Wars program. That would involve stationing highly sophisticated satellites in outer space, armed with weapons systems that would destroy incoming missiles and explode them—you guessed it—right over Canada.

There have been only three valid legal assertions of our Arctic sovereignty, all under Prime Trudeau back in the 1970s. The Arctic Waters Pollution Prevention Act of 1972, which attempts to extend Canada's jurisdiction over the Northwest Passage: a unilateral declaration that Canada was extending its territorial sea from three to 12 miles, making the Passage an inland, instead of international, waterway; and Canada's announcement that our northern coast and 205 nautical miles seaward were an Exclusive Economic Zone for pollution control, resource management and marine scientific research. Great declarations all, but none were acknowledged by the Americans or the Russians.

The cutbacks mean that in protecting the North, we are down to Mounties on Ski-Doo's, handing out parking tickets to intruders

the vast 3.5 million square miles north of 50°. An unarmed Arctic patrol search does fly over the North, but does so less than two times a month. The only vaguely significant northern base we have is at Alert on the northern tip of Ellesmere Island. But to get there, supply planes first relief at a U.S. base in Greenland because there are no Canadian bases within flying range of Alert.

We don't even have detailed charts of most of our northern waters. The best information available was charted by the multinational oil companies when they were exploring the area for potential drill holes, and it is now deposited inside the vaults of the Petroleum Institute in Houston.

The only effective surveillance to determine what's happening in our Arctic is provided by the North American Aerospace Defence Command, the U.S.-Canadian integrated military command that dates back to 1958 and the worst days of the Cold War. Beyond last year's further five years, strictly land-based in Washington command over all North American airspace. Nearly every Canadian military expert advocated signing the pact for only two years, as that Canada would have some flexibility in case the Americans use NATO as

An argument against expanding or even increasing any military presence in the North has always been that nobody is going to invade as anyway. That's true, or at least it happens to be true right now, but it may not always be true, and that isn't what maintaining a heavy military presence over a territory is all about. The first function of any government is to be aware of what's happening within its borders. Royal Air Force, drug matters, pollution, foreign interests within our fishing limits—these are some of the practical reasons we need to assert sovereignty over Canadian territory.

Without an independent defence policy, we will eventually—if we haven't already—because one of those wacky client-states that depend on the Pentagon for their very existence. Russia better understand the danger of that kind of colonial relationship than George Washington, the first U.S. president, who once warned, "It is folly for one nation to look for disinterested favours from another. There can be no greater error than to expect, or calculate upon, real favours from nations to resist. It is an illusion which experience must cure, which a just pride ought to discard."

Canadians have rightly prided themselves on being a nonmilitary country, a "peaceable kingdom," but Oliver and Gull was the danger and will happen again. We live a liberal democracy with no superstitious taboos, and even the most hawkish of our military commanders suffer from no delusions of grandeur and harbor few military ambitions. But to treat defence of the realm as a bothersome afterthought, to relegate defence to a military unit but not involved in the subject and not be subject to coastal extremes—that isn't the way to have a nation.

We don't have a national defence policy because we don't have a national survival policy. The defence department reflects poorly the explicit lack of any definite art of its own belief in this country. Canada's endorsement in a nation doesn't automatically mean failing a new constitution. It brings just as much as our will to defend our institutions—and that, in turn, depends on how much we learn to value them.

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Smokers go to war

Tobacco taxes trigger a backlash

Ever since medical science first demonstrated a link between cigarette smoking and disease more than 30 years ago, Canadian smokers have come to quit in increasing pressure to quit. In the beginning, health associations and the federal government relied on persuasion and mortality statistics to get smokers to give up their habit. Then, governments got tougher. During the late 1970s, municipalities began passing anti-smoking bylaws, while the provinces and Ottawa imposed ever-higher taxes on cigarettes. Since 1983, the proportion of smokers 15 and over in the population has shrunk to 24 per cent from just under 50 per cent. Last week, thousands of smokers, with the help of the tobacco industry, began registering their displeasure with tobacco taxes in a protest that promised—for the first time—to turn the campaign for the hearts and lungs of the country's estimated 6.4 million smokers into a two-way fight.



Smokers' relapse: Mahood (below) a campaign for hearts and lungs

Four years currently dominate the debate between smokers and a nationwide lobby of the industry's wide-encompassing, the health risks posed by so-called second-hand smoke, anti-smoking legislation and tobacco taxes. The Montreal law of Marcianne Mahood, a five-page open-ended act at the request of the New-Smokers' Rights Association, enacted in May that the firms violated the federal Tobacco Products Control Act, which primarily defines what kind of packing can appear on cigarette packages. Mahood, a former Conservative member of the Ontario legislature, said that the Canadian Tobacco Manufacturers' Council repudiated the firm in legal because they were made the packages all that and depicted their side predicted that the same would end up before the courts.

Wolfgang centers about the effect of secondhand

smoke on non-smokers has been the main force behind tougher anti-smoking laws. The Toronto Board of Health recommended last month that the city ban smoking in all places of work and public assembly unless there is an enclosed and separately ventilated room for smokers. Last August, Montreal enacted a bylaw that banned smoking in most public places and public meetings. In Vancouver, a public health bylaw requires that half the space in restaurants and ages and causes series of offices must be nonsmoking areas, and that other indoor areas open to the public be smoke-free.

Still, the two sides in the debate disagree on the risks associated with second-hand smoke. Mahood said that the dangers of second-hand smoke had been demonstrated internationally by researchers and scientists in organizations including the U.S. Environmental Protection Agency and the Canadian Cancer Society. As well, last week, the U.S. Centers for Disease Control in Atlanta published a report that said that smokers may kill more than 50,000 non-smoking Americans every year. But an international symposium on environmental tobacco smoke at McGill University in November, 1988, which was partly funded by the tobacco industry, concluded that scientific findings did not support the allegations that passive smoke was a health hazard.

Recent increases in tobacco taxes have probably been the main impetus behind the escalating debate over anti-smoking groups. Currently, federal and provincial taxes on a package of 25 cigarettes range from a low of \$2.50 in the Yukon to \$5.40 in New Brunswick (where a 25-pack cigarette costs \$7.50).

For his part, Mahood said that the federal cigarette tax increase alone, while preventing more people not to smoke, would boost Ottawa's revenues by \$1.4 billion "and save between 154,000 and 200,000 lives over the next three or four decades." Research, he added, showed that the federal tax increase would persuade 700,000 people to give up the habit. But that would still leave more than 5.5 million Canadians still going and puffing—and increasing the outcome of the war.

RAN CORRELL is a Montreal and Vancouver correspondent.



Work hour in Vancouver: an increasing number are seeking help for workaholicism

BEHAVIOR

Fast track to failure

Experts study the perils of work addiction

During the smoke-enslaved 1980s, the term "workaholic" was often a positive term used to describe the hard-working man who turned their corporate reputations with long hours and a tireless devotion to detail. They carried loading briefcases, worked late and sacrificed their weekends in the hope of promotion, higher pay—and higher profits for their employers. But some psychologists now say that for some people the compulsive pursuit of on-the-job perfection actually results in decreased productivity. Indeed, some experts say that eventually, workaholics can lose their sense of control over their work and their lives. When that occurs, the person who is addicted to work can turn clumsy, become prone to rage and alienate his or her family, friends and colleagues. Said Barbara Klinger, a Toronto psychologist, "At their best, workaholics are selfless—there's nothing inside, they have lost their humanity."

According to Klinger, whose book *Workaholics: The Repetitive Addict* was published by Key Porter Books in April, workaholics are not in person who are addicted to working and who, as a result, experience personality changes. Yet despite the sometimes alarming consequences of the addiction, Klinger says that the problem is still widely misunderstood.

She and other experts say that an increasing number of people are seeking treatment for workaholicism because the addiction takes hold so early. Klinger, and other co-workers and spouses tend to dismiss the early symptoms of workaholicism—anxiety, irritability and restlessness—as the temporary side effects of overwork.

At the same time, Kenneth Des Roches, an Ottawa-based employment consultant with Peat Marwick Stevenson & Kellogg, a management consulting firm, says that employers sometimes make the problem worse by assuming that someone with workaholic attributes will be a model employee. By giving a workaholic more responsibility and praise, says Des Roches, who regularly counsels individuals suffering from workaholicism, employers can unwittingly push the workaholic too far. Still, Des Roches says that the main problem is the classroom add: "People get a high from their work, and it becomes something of a virtue that they get caught up in," he said. "Before long, they said it, and they don't want to live without it."

Although the word "workaholic" has been in use for only about 20 years, psychologists say that the addiction has existed for much longer. They add that the problem has recently gained greater recognition because people are the largest segment of the North American population, those between the ages of 30 and 45, are at the stage in their careers when, according to Des Roches, workaholicism "tends to get to people." But Bert, a recovering Vancouver workaholic who at one time worked a full-time job and a part-time business during 18-hour days, told Mahood's that his addiction began in his childhood. Bert, 35, who acknowledged that his last name be withheld, said that it was only by stopping work completely that he was able to deal with his workaholicism. "Work is a way of avoiding your feelings, like love or drugs," he said. "Work gives you the feeling that you're in control."

Klinger, who has studied workaholicism for eight years, says that the classic workaholic starts off as a perfectionist who desperately needs the approval of others. Over time, she says, working becomes a compulsion and, finally, a single-minded pursuit of self-fulfillment that can lead to emotional problems and personality changes. Striving for power and control, workaholics suffer from chronic fatigue and guilt, are racked by fears and sometimes even become incapable of doing anything right. In the past, says Des Roches, a psychologist at the University of British Columbia in Vancouver, says that workaholics reach the crisis stage when they begin to lose control over their lives. What that happens to workaholics, says Bert, "They lose their sense of well-being."

According to Klinger, workaholics are capable of being charming and, in extreme cases, violence if it serves their purposes. Increasingly bound to their work, yet feeling out of control, they may become impatient with their children and lash out at their spouses. "More and more," said Klinger, "I am hearing how much change is going on in the workplace."

According to Des Roches, companies and their employees have to recognize workaholicism as a risk factor in order to prevent it from causing problems in the workplace. "Many companies are beginning to realize that being obsessed with work is a serious problem," he said.

Individual employees, he added, must learn to work within realistic limits and not only on work to feed their ego. Otherwise, the successes gained from overwork can ultimately lead to painful failure.

Klinger says that many workaholics can be cured if they get help early. Most important, she said, was for them to gain an understanding of their own feelings, and a realization of how their addiction has harmed their families and friends. "In most cases, what they have left behind is a pile of broken lives," she said.

Klinger added that workaholicism has been removed for the people they have done, then they can usually recover. But, for the minority of workaholics who are unable to do that, failure is likely to turn into a fast track to failure, back and on to the job.

JAMES DEACON

PEOPLE

POETIC AND MYSTICAL UNIONS

In her recently published memoirs, *Journey with My Sisters*, 81-year-old West-geberghe poet Dorothy Unwey reflects on everything from her early sexual experiences to what it means to be a Canadian. And her view of both is characteristically poetic. She calls the act of losing her virginity, at age 20, a lesson in "how to become human." And the two-time Governor General's Award-winner adds that a Canadian's identity "is more influenced by locality than nationality. We can have both vibrant localities and belong to an activity."

Free of anger

Katy Dukakis is tender with the subject. The media relentlessly covered her alcohol and drug problems after the 1996 U.S. presidential election. But she says that she feels on her feet. Dukakis, 54, whose autobiography, *Now We Know*, has just been released in paperback, asked "Forgiveness is a very important word in my vocabulary and my life. It would take enormous energy to hate the press." In the book, she candidly discusses the issues that attended the media so much. And Dukakis: "What I regard as this book, writing about my problems, was the furthest thing from my mind. I was still in denial. In the final analysis, I'm happy to have done it. People keep thinking we 'They are able to identify.' Well, as the wife of Michael Dukakis, who was the 1988 Democratic presidential candidate, she acknowledged, "I'm very happy to be out of the public eye. And I know my daughter, Andrea, who is going to Columbia journalism school, find she is proving the theory."



Dukakis: important to forgive

THE BIG APPLE GETS SERIOUS

The absurdist play *Mump and Sweet in 'Tages'* with Wag, featuring three heterosexual characters, was a major hit in five Canadian cities last year. Now, it is revealing critical review off Broadway. But Michael Kennedy, 35, who co-wrote the play with his partner and fellow Torontoites John Turner, 34, says that New York City audiences are not as anti-homosexuality as Canadians. Said Kennedy, who plays Mump, a narcissistic, glib-tongued character: "In Canada, people joined in. But here, they just want to watch."



Kennedy (left): Turner: musical clowning around



Black (left): Sexless, soulful

BEST OF BOTH WORLDS

Stephanie Black appears to be appropriately placed in her new job as co-host of Global Television's *Kühnheit*. Her mother, Rosemary Saxony, reports on the adult social scene for the Toronto *Globe and Mail*, while Black covers kids' activities. "You just a big kid myself," says Black, 25. Indeed, she says that the kids children are often more intelligent than adult TV viewers. But despite her loyalty to her youthful audience, Black makes an occasional foray into the world of adults with her mother. Said Black: "I love going to parties with her. I like eating the shrimp and drinking the wine."

Singing the songs of war

Rosemary Cosney's new album, *For Sir Danforth*, is a collection of Second World War songs. She says that many fans have asked whether she intended the album to coincide with the Gulf conflict. But Cosney, who is scheduled to perform in Toronto on June 24 and in Victoria in August, declared: "I recorded it before the Gulf War started. People were saying to me, 'What did you do? Rush was the studio as soon as war broke out.' " Added the 63-year-old balladeer: "I just saw a loved one. I found myself doing a duet before each show."

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The bayou tenor

Talented Aaron Neville takes a solo flight

Aaron Neville's voice has the power to open doors. When he was a boy in his native New Orleans, he used to sing his way into basketball games and movie theatres, impressing ticket-collectors as much with his serene performance that they would let him in. Then, in 1967, when Neville was a 26-year-old Clevelander, his singing took him from the docks to the top of the charts with the achingly sweet ballad *Tell It Like It Is*. Since then, his distinctive tenor has captivated the music that he and his three brothers make as the highly acclaimed New Orleans-flavored band The Neville Brothers, whose popularity expanded during the 1980s with such albums as *Fire on the Bayou* (1981) and *Yellow Moon* (1989). But now, with the resurgence of Aaron Neville's solo career—his first solo album in more than 20 years—Aaron Neville, 38, once again has a showcase of his own. The new recording process that Neville has embraced truly suits him, and it seems destined to make him a major solo artist.

Produced by Leslie Rothwell and George Massenburg, who recorded that singer's latest album, *Where Your Phantoms* displays the full range of Neville's vocal gifts. Growing almost as many styles as have other out of New Orleans—drum blues and gospel to jazz and Afro-Caribbean music—it takes the singer on a journey from his musical roots to challenging new heights. Rooted, clearly, in his love for the long and the heart at last. "You can't be a singer for three generations, can you?" *Where Your Phantoms* and *All My Love*—two of four Roosters-Neville duets on her most recent, 1989 album, *Cry Like a Woman*, that take the Wind. For the new Neville album, she selected exceptional material, including songs by Randy Newman and John Hiatt. And she brought into the studio such stellar musicians as guitarist Jay Cooke and pianist De John Neville, superbly and without despite his brotherly and cousinly talent, is quick to pay tribute to Roosters. "She has a good ear," he said as a recent interview with *Musician's*, "but she's smart, real smart. She could hear what all the songs would sound like before we even got started."

The album opens on a plaintive note with a

heartrending version of Newman's *Louisiana 1825*, about the boats that often devastate Neville's native state. As he sings about the toll taken by the rising Mississippi River, Neville's voice itself becomes a testament of pure emotion. The power of the bluesnote also figures in Hiatt's inspired *If You're Like Me*, in which



Neville: Home-town roots and challenging new heights

Neville sings soulfully about a romantic encounter in "the thick heat" of a summer night. Other songs, including the bluesy title track and Chew Your Fire, another love duet with Roosters, reflect Neville's early influences of soul and funk, the harmonizing vocal music of such 1950s groups as The Mergers and The Orioles.

The most deeply moving performances are the two spiritual numbers that close the album. Cooke's stately fingerpicking sets the tone

for *I Had You Goodnight*, a traditional Caribbean gospel song mourning a friend's death. As Neville's tender falsetto strains here, he calls to his brotherly love, with a chorus anchored by the ultra-deep bass of singer Willie Green Jr., the track builds to a rich, emotional climax. But the album's richest undertone: Scherzer's *Are Men* turns out to be Neville's first serious duet. Backed by San Francisco's Grace Episcopal Choir, Neville delivers such a stirring rendition, his voice quivering in all its vulnerable beauty, that he deserves to be ranked among the world's most respected singers.

Although he never sang in a choir, Neville acquired a love of sacred music while attending the Roman Catholic Church as a boy in New Orleans, where he first heard *Are Men* performed. "The church was a big influence on me," he said. "I always sang along with the choir. And I used to sit on my grandfather's lap whenever to participate on the radio." The third of four boys born to Arthur Neville, a Pullman porter and merchant seaman, and his wife, Amelia, he also developed a love of show-biz. Another influence is the most surprising: his mother's style. Singing Neville says that watching Gene Autry and Roy Rogers' westerns as a child inspired him to find the blittero range in his voice.

His singing served him well in high school, where he took part in several vocal contests. It also kept his spirits alive during a six-month sentence he served at the New Orleans Parish Prison in 1968 for auto theft. There, Neville turned to Graham S. Jule, the patron saint of hopeless cases for inner strength. That faith, he says, has been the cornerstone of his life, seeing him through the hard times in the 1960s when he worked as a bartender on the New Orleans docks. Despite the early success of *Tell It Like It Is*, Neville says that he was never paid his royalties for that 1967 record and was back to clock work a short time later. An interview, he says, lasted long ago. "I still get a reward when I sing the song," he said. "People give me standing ovations here. That's reward enough."

Neville, who has four children with his wife of 30 years, Joel, still lives in New Orleans. His clan is close-knit: two of his brothers live on the same block, and his son, Fred, an aspiring singer, opens Neville Brothers concerts. Aaron says that his solo career and that of The Neville Brothers are dovetailing efforts: "Now touring North America, the Nevilles are including some of Aaron's solo repertoire on their shows. And Aaron's growing popularity seems to be attracting bigger audiences for The Neville Brothers. With melodic ease, the vocals of Aaron Neville are once again opening doors.

NICHOLAS JENNINGS

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Sex at the color bar

Spike Lee dissects inter-racial romance

JUNGLE FEVER
Directed by Spike Lee

Few American movie directors have aroused as much controversy in the past decade as Spike Lee. *Do the Right Thing* (1989), his incendiary drama of racial violence, provoked raging debate in the media. *M'Pheer Blues* (1990), the

convinced to do a gag troupe's approved live life, was less memorable. Like a guest appearance to a number of complaints about Lee—that he was far less sensitive to issues than he seems, that his female characters lacked substance and that drug abuse was strangely absent from his street-level views of black America. With his new movie, Lee answers his critics on every count—and raises any doubts about his brilliance as a director. *Jungle Fever*, a visceral drama about interracial romance, resonates on a term he personally advocated by Hollywood. It is a passionate, witty and profoundly moving film—a contemporary tragedy with Shakespearean dimensions.

Jungle Fever delivers a well-aimed blow at the solar plexus of urban America where conflicts of race, class and gender intersect. Reversing the plantation stereotype of miscegenation between white bosses and black slaves, *Jungle Fever's* story centres on an affair between a black yuppie named Flipper (Wesley Snipes), a successful architect, and his new secretary, Angie (Anabella Sciorra), an Italian-

American trying to escape the working class
Flipper lives with his wife and young daughter
on a gentrified street in Harlem. Angele lives
with her father and two squabbling brothers in
Bedfordst, the race-fire, Brazilian neighborhood
that served as the setting for *Go the Right
Way*; the story of a violent showdown between
a white pizza-parlor owner and his
black customers.

These acts are triggered by racial carnality, not by love. And they consummate it with blood wages—at night, alone in the office, under the harsh white light of a drafting table. Flipper remembers that he is rapidly married. But when rumors of his infidelity filter back to his wife, Drew (Louise McKee), his marriage is suddenly in ruins. Drew, a minimalist who has a cheap job as a buyer for Bloomingdale's, is outraged that her husband be betrayed for the "low-class white trash"—a racist I just won't fight

Tipper's adultery also provokes the wrath of her father (Duke David), a retired preacher and one of the movie's three anything-but-paternalists. When Angie's father (Frank Vincent) finds out that she is dating a black man, he viciously beats her. But her brokenhearted boyfriend, Paulie, passionately played by John Turturro, defuses the racism of his hellfire-brother's



Standing up to his own bigoted father (Anthony Quinn), he emerges as the movie's most sympathetic figure.

Like Lee's previous films, *Angie* flourishes from a male viewpoint. But the director, who has a major role-to-write, goes out of his way to create strong and authentic female characters. In one scene, Lee throws the movie open to an entertaining discussion about men by Drew and her women friends. The actresses appear to be freely improvising on camera. Asking "Are there any good black men?" the women explore the sexual politics of skin color in fascinating detail. And the phenomenon of black men having fairer-skinned skin tones, one of them finally concludes, represents "a fundamental disrespect for women."

Jeagle uses braids with straightened strands. Lee tries to portray the conflicts of an entire community through his characters. But his expansive narrative achieves a remarkable level of intimacy, an emotional power that makes *Be the Night Thing* seem like a pale polemic by comparison. It also covers a lot more ground—including the case of black drag show. Flipper's brother, Gator (Samuel L. Jackson), is a dangerous crack user who hectorizes his family with demands for money. Eventually, Flipper searches his out in a crack house, a vast warehouse of the damned that Lee depicts with an almost biblical sense of doom.

Their enoquence in *Jungle Fever* displays Lee's habitual compass; it is evident in the heartrending performances by Snipey, Snorts and Turnaway and in the rage upon Snored up by Davis, Vincent and Quinn Singer. Steven Wonder, who composed the movie's uplifting score, seems to be cast as the voice of God—in Lee. His sound track, which sometimes overwrites the dialogue, is initially distracting. But as the movie's tension builds, it becomes a dynamic component of the drama, like a Greek chorus. Lee also uses several Frank Sinatra songs at times; indeed, in one scene, Poodle's Enrico falls from a street awning onto black rapists and Central Park rappers while Sinatra croons, at equal volume, "I Was a Teen-Cop Boy."

Jeopardy! Fewer affects no pre-judgment, but it does provide an overwhelming catharsis. It is a limitless *Blower* and *Blower* that a story of star-struck lust. *Scorsese*, however, instead of that her character was driven by romantic obsession, according to Lee, who questioned with the actors during the shoot. Although he grants her performance, he says he could not get her to accept his version of the film. "It couldn't put a gun to her head," the director told TV. *Jeopardy!* star *Blower*: Bill Lush, "and it was too far along in the last week to film her." It is perhaps appropriate that *Jeopardy!* star a movie of female control issues, has risen out of such violent circumstances.

BRIAN D. JOHNSON

Flashes of brilliance

The Stratford Festival opens with two gems

When Ponce strides into the ring with his silver metallic dress costume that he exhibits exuberantly in the Stratford Festival, Arlene and broad-shouldered, he seems as much dancer or acrobat as classical actor. Sitting down for an interview, he fields questions with a theatrical intensity, his dark, grey eyes shining in the bright spotlights. Several nights before, on May 27, he had helped to inaugurate the festival's 38th season in the title role of Hamlet. His performance as Shakespeare's most famous character signalled that a new generation of actors is challenging the ascendancy at the company's largest, east- and west-coast classical theatre company. Actors of the calibre of Christopher Plummer and Richard Monette have played Hamlet at the renowned festival in the past. Now, the role has passed to an accomplished 35-year-old who professes little support for the tradition of "correct and proper acting." Said Ponce, "It is how we justify our existence here as actors more than a tourist market or museum."

Yet the festival is also very much a market for tourists, who generate an estimated \$100 million annually for the host city, situated deep in the lush farmlands of southwestern Ontario. A vast business as well as a theatrical enterprise, the festival itself—which runs until Nov. 16—has to earn fully 70 per cent of its income, \$25 million budget from box-office revenues the balance comes from grants and corporate donations. Over the past four years, it has done well, earning millions. And even with the effects of the recession and increased ticket prices (its \$49.50, including GST, is 1995 for the best seats from \$39.50 in 1992, current revenues are on target).

The extraordinary cost of the festival puts considerable pressure on an artistic director, who has to mount shows with wide appeal. This constraint has usually resulted in a conservative style of production: the majority of shows at Stratford, although superbly executed and lighted, tend to be conventional and reflect that revolutionary but there are usually a golden few that have the beauty and emotional power to ignite audiences. Of the 38 productions that recently opened the season, two are exceptional: director Mark Wormald's bewitching version of Michael Tremblay's 1968 classic, *Les Belles soeurs*, and

Richard Monette's graceful and deeply humorous rendition of the Shakespeare comedy *Much Ado About Nothing*.

Those productions will help sustain a reputation that, over the past decade, Colin Povey has helped create. Before Povey, he played Stratford roles that included *Roméo, Othello*, and *Twelfth Night* and *Lepus* in *Othello*. Yet, Hamlet, his hands-on director for more of his theatrical life, Povey said, "The real challenge for me



Sample, Ponce at *Much Ado About Nothing* deeply humorous

blatant of having all my friends around with all the theatrical cameras and that sort of charming, but definitely decided ways to avoid what is most painful and difficult about the work."

One of those "friends" at Povey's wife of seven years, Sidonie Bell, who plays Ophelia. They live just east of Stratford with their two-year-old son, Jack, born in Boston. Povey moved with his French immigrant parents to Canada in 1950, when his father, a violinist, was hired by an Ottawa hospital. Povey grew up on Ottawa's Woodbine Court, and from 1977 to 1980 he trained at Monette's National Theatre School. A year later, he joined the Stratford Festival, where in 1983, as a member of the Young Company, he suffered a jaw-droppingly impressive experience: playing the role of the cadish Claudio in *Much Ado About Nothing*, he role first at having to share a female character, then, onstage. Seconds before a performance, he grew disheartened and refused to go on, complaining that his role was too painful. He called Povey "John Frankenheimer, a crazy, very confused English actor, grabbed me by the scruff of the neck and said, 'That's how you're supposed to feel'—and drives me into the stage."

Povey claims that the crash helped him to connect "my personality and life to the reality of Shakespeare's life."

At his best, Povey performs with a passionate naturalism that dangles any sense that he is merely acting. Yet he never stops to be so quiet, adequate for the audience. As Hamlet, Povey is adept at evoking the shabbiness of the troubled young prince, and he is frighteningly convincing in the scenes of intense impatience, as when Hamlet visits the graveyard. Plummer (*Much Ado About Nothing*) through a curtain. But he only shows the surface of the great soliloquies, where his technical mastery cannot hide his lack of true poignancy. The other

Povey's Hamlet is aggressive but menacing. Wormald's vision of the play is elegant and simple, from his use of a wall in the court of Elsinore—to contrast powerfully with Hamlet's black—to an understated staging of the soliloquies. But several important supporting actors give hard-core, low-down-power performances that leave the play's psychological depths unexplored. Only Plummer's Ophelia is memorable: he lends the old coquette's "To be or not to be" speech such nobility that he seems at one moment and noble, loving and convincing.

Povey gives a most complete account as Benedick in *Much Ado About Nothing*, where he squares off with Golke Semple, who plays Beatrice, the other half of the comedy's best-loved lovers. The two characters, each trading one after the way to the marriage altar, making



Real, Janet Wright in *Les Belles soeurs*: the festival's exuberance and wit at its best

whiffiness with the same mild energy and serious charm that Povey and Semple brought to Stratford's celebrated *The Taming of the Shrew* in 1988. As well, Loren Kennedy makes a fine Don John, the villain who is a bitter hatred of other people's bliss. Kennedy's darkness and narrowness by voice and in a black raper pining the light, gray tones of the

Another Stratford offering, *Therese Miller* is personally popular. *Our Town* (1985), unfortunately recalls as any who make cast as bodies and people left their front doors unlocked. Its slow-moving but effective emotion of the secret life of Grover's Corners, N.H., depends heavily on the majesty of Stratford veteran Douglas Rans in the leading

role of the Stage Manager. Warming the sparsely known stage in an old cordage, he strikes just the right tone for the play's bittersweet elegy on the passage of time: "You know how it is," he muses at one point to the audience. "You're 32 or 33. Then, whoa! You're 70."

The festival remains as good as a creditable job with the season's musical, the Rodgers and Hammerstein 1945 classic, *Cornelius*. The psychologically troubling work focuses on a young carnival barker, Billy Bower (Golke Semple), who takes his wife, Julie (Ulrich Grant). The grim story centers on a series of events that lead to the show's apocalyptic songs, including *Just a Little Girl* and *Over the Hill* (Mark Macdonald's)

splendid direction makes it all seem possible, even as the script demands that as some current country be set up onstage in 30 seconds.

Stratford's only current Canadian show, Michael Tremblay's *Les Belles soeurs*, may well prove to be the highlight of the season. The

work focuses on a working-class Quebecois housewife, Genevieve Lussier (Susan Wright), who was a mafia drug-strung—and even a drug woman herself—and ends up to help her find her brother. Her party goes on as her husband starts calling the stage into their parents. A cast that includes Wright, Semple, Kate Reid, Patrick Gorman, Barbara Payne and Nancy Avery is guaranteed for brilliance. The production's prides in moving to home cinema—as when Therese (Ulrich Grant) looks across her brother's motherly face, Genevieve (Susan Wright), to look her own in her wheelchair. *Les Belles soeurs* represents the festival at its best, doing it with the same exuberance and wit that it brings to the comedies of Shakespeare.

Later in the summer, Stratford will present two more productions, including an adaptation of Robert Louis Stevenson's classic *Twelve Angry Men* (opening on Aug. 15, Miller's comedy *The School for Wives* (Aug. 22) and Howard, the musical drama *As Good as the People* (Aug. 23). If any of these shows comes up to the level set by *Les Belles soeurs* and *Much Ado About Nothing*, the festival will only add to its reputation as something much more than a tourist attraction.

JOHN REICHBERG is in Stratford

Maclean's

BEST-SELLER LIST

FICTION

- 1 *As the Crow Flies*, Andrew (1)
- 2 *Imaginary*, Kundera (2)
- 3 *Elephant Song*, Swift (3)
- 4 *147*, Kundera (4)
- 5 *The Island*, Kundera (5)
- 6 *The Secret of the Island*, Kundera (6)
- 7 *Change Log*, Thomas (7)
- 8 *Heartland*, Steel (8)
- 9 *Les Murs, Les Murs, Les Murs*, Clark (9)
- 10 *A Soldier of the Great War*, Wilson (10)

NONFICTION

- 1 *Love, John*, Ali (1)
- 2 *You'll Never Get South in This Town Again*, Polley (2)
- 3 *There Was a Time*, Simons (3)
- 4 *Isaac Newton*, MacLean (4)
- 5 *A History of the Holy People*, Shoen (5)
- 6 *Imaginary*, Kundera (6)
- 7 *The Communion*, Zis (7)
- 8 *Woolly Aardvark*, Ali (8)
- 9 *History of the Holy People*, Shoen (9)
- 10 *There Was a Time*, Simons (10)

Compiled by Brian Deane



A close encounter of the grunt kind

BY ALLAN FOTHERINGHAM

It is the season as we all know, for jock-banking, feeding the sloppy feed of clay on the overpaid lumpy nose who play little boys' games. When they're not drunk at the wheel, they're on drugs or chasing after smiles in bars or strutting home. A Goldcrest psychologist, one Tim House, points out that we're being not too subtle. "Adolescents' had people," he says. "They just don't have life skills. You can't point your finger at a 24-year-old making \$3.4 million for acting like a 13-year-old. What do you expect? Twelve is where he development stopped."

True, too true. One wonders, however, whether happens to those of us who make a living of the jocks—commenting on them, reporting on them, pontificating over them. This has always worried me, as a companion or lead (or jock) who had the field but always has the feeling someone that, like a miser, my pen will catch up with me and inflict some horrible punishment.

I have just seen the punishment. The scene is the King David hotel in Jerusalem, a respectable pile of orange stone, a certified landmark, such a beloved landmark that chaps who later become prime ministers of Israel once blew it up in the interests of encouraging the British to leave the territory and go elsewhere.

The King David is now populated by expensively coiffed cutthroats who drop so much money and gifts that you get the impression their banknotes for their husbands divorce lawyers are rich. One day these wankers into the patio a very old-looking, and very shaggy-looking, Howard Cook, the thinking man's mouth. In three or four was anyone who made a lot of money telling us what someone said at some address, it was Howard.

Howard on leaving television and his door butters on *Monday Night Football*, also wrote a book, going in his well-thought-out notes on the clubhouse, dignity, courtesy and other sorts of things he was forced to share at times with him. Now, the problem with most of us who write books is that not enough people read them. Howard's problem, it turned out, was that too many people read his book. As a result,



BY TONY

almost to one as the patio of the King David hotel in Jerusalem wants to talk to him.

Maybe it's the topper, which could hardly be some outbursting. It was Jim Boutin, a New York Yankee pitcher whose arm gave out, who wrote the first kiss-and-tell jock best-seller revealing that Mickey Maude and other such heroes weren't exactly the jock scouts we had always dreamed of. Since then, jocks whose arms and eyesight and legs have gone but whose fingers can still operate a tape recorder have given us all these juicy revelations about drugs in the dressing room and the Playboy centerfolds and other such sizzling stuff. Boutin used to say "Howard Cook? He's the guy who wears a rag, has had a nose job, changed his name and talks at like it is."

Poor Howard, a lawyer just can't get it right, which was his problem. Jack writes in the press box don't like a lawyer who knows his words and uses them in his lucrative moon-

lighting session. Maybe the people on the patio and around the swimming pool who are quarrying has are afraid he's going to start these long words again. Around the King David, in the mouth of Jesus, there was a death of a starlet at Howard, who is very tall, and very scooped.

Howard, six alone in the lobby, which is approximately the size of the Boston Celtics home court. My day's labor finished, having solved the Middle East problem. I pulled myself down opposite with my newspaper. There is silence, enough time to get through Prince William's first encounter with the dull sport of golf. "How's it going, Howard?" There is a grunt. When you've been an idol of the afternoon, you tend to grunt a lot.

Being a fan of, and participant of, nonsensical conversations, I don't mind. It's better than the babble coming from the patio. I read how the possibly contemptuousness of the White

House First Peggy has led to the irrational behavior of George Bush, who actually thinks he's a 35-year-old jock and never stops trying to prove that his body can do something that it can't.

"Whiskey talks of the Lakers, Howard?" A grunt. A guttural noise, I was told. To guess more on defense. Need the three-pointers? Howard who was paid a lot per millisecond word on the tube, rationed his output carefully, as if the meter is ticking. We have a good relationship going here.

"Well," I say, during my long silence, "do you ever look back from all those jocks just traded as poor boys?" There are snarls. A grunt or two of consideration. "Gifford?" He can keep on having those facts. What comes? One gets the impression the same one called Maple Frank Gifford's mother is out there on the patio.

Each night, it's the same. I come back from a hard day in the wilderness of the sun as going down, in a dust each night, on the sunroom on the patio. They look across to the walled Old City of Jerusalem. Just past their cocktails in the room where the Last Supper took place.

There is, as there is each evening, a piano-and-velvet duo. The piano has one of those piano-leverkey handles and a pot belly, a microphone and a knowing, come-hither smile at every noisy note. The velvet waltzes fiery tracks. They play weepy tunes, gypsy tunes, turn-of-the-century Vienna songs.

Howard is in a rich evening, a alone. I sit down. "How's it go?" he grins. I pull up my paper. "OK," H. L. Maude once said that working for a newspaper can be more than a quiet job. I have seen the future. And it is male.



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